Sketches of printers and printing in colonial New York

Charles Swift Riché Hildeburn

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[Class of 1830].

"For books relating to Politics and Fine Arts."

5 Dec. 1895.

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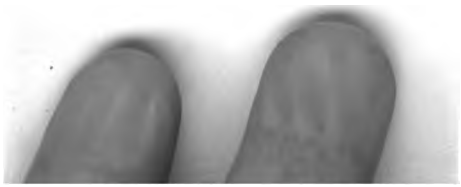

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JAMES RIVINGTON

The portrait by Gilbert Stuart in the possession of William H. Appleton Esq.

Doubleday, Page & Company New York

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SKETCHES OF
PRINTERS AND PRINTING
IN
COLONIAL NEW YORK

BY
CHARLES R. HILDEBURN

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

NEW YORK
DODD, MEAD & COMPANY
1895

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PREFACE

WHEN these sketches were undertaken a short time ago, I had no idea that they would appear even in book form, much less in the elaborate setting which the publishers have given them. I regret that the brief period allowed for their compilation and the pressure of other business (which prevented more than a couple of hurried visits to New York) should oblige me to let them go forth as imperfect in many of their details as they must be. If they should arouse some

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interest in the New York printers who followed Bradford and lead to the collection and preservation of their works, I shall at least have aided some one in the future to produce a more extensive work.

C. R. H.

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The ornament on the title-page is a facsimile of one used by William Bradford.

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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF PRINTERS

✻

The dates define the period during which the printer was in business in New York.

WILLIAM BRADFORD 1693–1743
JOHN PETER ZENGER 1725–1746
HENRY DE FOREEST 1742–1754
JAMES PARKER 1743–1770
ANNA CATHARINE ZENGER . . . 1746–1748
JOHN ZENGER 1746–1751
WILLIAM WEYMAN 1748–1769
HUGH GAINE 1752–1807
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JOHN HOLT 1760–1784
JAMES RIVINGTON 1760–1802
SAMUEL FARLEY 1760–1762
BENJAMIN MECOM 1763
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SAMUEL BROWN 1766

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ALEXANDER ROBERTSON 1769–1783
JAMES ROBERTSON 1769–1783
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FREDERICK SHOBER 1772–1775
ROBERT HODGE 1772–1800
JOHN ANDERSON 1773–1776
SAMUEL LOUDON 1775–1792
ALEXANDER CAMERON 1777–1782
DONALD MACDONALD 1777–1782
NATHANIEL MILLS 1777–1783
JOHN HICKS 1777–1783
WILLIAM LEWIS 1777–1783
WILLIAM MORTON 1782–1789
SAMUEL HORNER 1782–1786
CHRISTOPHER SOWER 1782–1783
ELIZABETH HOLT 1784–1786

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SKETCHES OF PRINTERS AND PRINTING

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CHAPTER I

WILLIAM BRADFORD
THE FOUNDER OF THE PRESS IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES

WHETHER the introduction of printing into New York is more due to the disturbances aroused in Pennsylvania by the ambition of George Keith to succeed George Fox as leader of the Quakers, than to the vainglorious desire of Governor Fletcher to parade in print his exploits with the French and Indians, is a point not now to be discussed. The fact remains that William Bradford removed from Philadelphia in March or April, 1693, and established his press in New York. Born

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in the parish of Barwell, Leicestershire, on May 20, 1663, of humble folk of the Established Church, he first came into notice as the apprentice of Andrew Sowle, the principal London Quaker publisher of his day, and a proselyte to his master's religion. At the expiration of his time he married his master's daughter, Elizabeth, and in 1685 emigrated to Philadelphia. Here a series of troubles with ecclesiastical and civil authorities culminated in his imprisonment in 1692, followed by his release by Fletcher in 1692–93, and his migration to New York to become Printer to the King.

His first publication was probably a pamphlet entitled "New England's Spirit of Persecution Transmitted To Pennsilvania," issued without a printer's name or place. The broadside "Proclamation" of June 8, 1693, however, bears his imprint, and has usually been deemed the first issue of his press.

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AN

ALMANACK

For the Year of Christian Account

1694.

And from the Creation of the World 5661.

But by *Keplas* Computation 5687.

Being the second after Leap-Year, The Epact is 14. Golden Number 4. and Dominical Letter *G*.

Containing Matters Necessary and Useful, chiefly accomodated to the Lat. of 40 Degrees, but may without sensible Error serve the Places adjacent, from *Newfound-Land* to the Capes of *Virginia*.

By *Daniel Leeds*, Philomat.

A Motto. taught by the Sons of *Urania*.

If to be born under Mercury *disposeth us to be Witty, and under* Jupiter *to be Wealthy, we do not owe Thanks unto them, but unto that Merciful Hand that ordered our indifferent & uncertain Nativities unto such benevolent Aspects.*

Printed and Sold by *William Bradford* at the Bible in *New-York*, 1694.

Exact size of original.

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During the year he printed several other broadsides, a "Catalogue of Fees," the first printed protest against "keeping slaves," an exploitation of Fletcher called "A Journal of the Late Actions of the French," and Leeds's Almanac for 1694. All these were merely pamphlets. The first book printed in New York was Keith's "Truth Advanced," issued early in 1694. This was followed during the year by that volume now so precious, "The Laws & Acts of the General Assembly for Their Majesties Province of New-York, As they were Enacted in divers Sessions, the first of which began April, the 9th, Annoq; Domini, 1691. At New-York, Printed and Sold by William Bradford, Printer to their Majesties, King William & Queen Mary, 1694." In 1695 and 1696 his known publications were mainly of an official character, "Le Tresor des Consolations Divines et Humaines," a little book in French, printed in fulfil-

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LE

TRESOR

DES

Conſolations

Divines et Humaines,

Ou Traite dans le quel le Chretien peut apprendre a vaincre et a ſurmonter les Afflictions et les Miſeres de cette vie.

Si quel qu'vn veut venir apres mov qu'il renonce a ſov meme, qu'il charge ſa croix, et qu'il me ſuive, Mat. 16.

A New-York, Chez *Guillaume Bradford*, al Enſeigne de la Bible, 1696.

Exact size of original.

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ment of a vow of a Mr. Pintard, being the principal exception; and in 1697 he issued a tract called "New-England Pesecutors [*sic*] Mauled With their own Weapons," which caused a stir in Massachusetts, and a new almanac by a Manhattan innkeeper named Clap, an imperfect copy of which sold for $420 at the sale of the third part of the Brinley Library.

Among his publications in 1698 were "A Letter From A Gentleman of the City of New-York," one of the half-dozen known copies of which brought $320 at the Barlow sale; "Propositions made by the Five Nations," the Brinley copy of which sold for $410; and "A New Primmer or Methodical Direction to attain the True Spelling, Reading and Writing of English," by Francis Daniel Pastorius, of Germantown, of which Manchester, England, boasts the possession of the only known copy, and which may have suggested

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to Bradford the compilation of his own volume of like nature, "The Secretary's Guide," the first edition of which appeared about this period.

From 1699 to 1710 Bradford's press was busy mainly with public documents and the stream of controversial pamphlets issued by Keith and his adherents. "A Cage of Unclean Birds," "The Spirit of Railing Shimei," "The Bomb," and "The Mystery of Fox-Craft" are some of the tracts hurled against the Quakers. The more important works issued within this decade were the "Tryal" of Nicholas Bayard, in 1702, Makemie's "Narrative," in 1707 (in which year he also printed what is now the earliest extant edition of the "Laws, Orders & Ordinances" of the City of New York, and the first issue of the "Charter of the City of Albany"). Falckner's "Grondlycke Onderricht van Sekere Voorname Hoofd-stucken, der Waren,

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GRONDLYCKE ONDERRICHT
VAN
Sekere Voorname Hoofd-ſtucken, der
Waren, Loutern, Saligmakenden,

Chriſtelycken Leere,

Gegrondet op den Grondt van de Apoſtelen en Propheten, daer

Jesus Christus

de HOECK-STEEN.

I S.

Angeweſen in eenvoudige, dog ſtigtlycke

Vragen en *Antwoorden*,

Door

JUSTUS FALCKNER, *Saxe-Germanus*, Miniſter der Chriſtelycken Proteſtantſen Genaemten Lutherſchen Gemeente te *N York* en *Alban.en*,
&c.

Pſal. 119. v. 104. (*God*) *n Woort maecks my Kloeek; daerom hate ick alle valſche Wegen.*

Gedruckt te Nieuw-York by W: Bradfordt,
1708

Exact size of original.

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Loutern, Saligmakenden, Christelycken Leere, Gegrondet op den Grondt van de Apostelen en Propheten, daer Jesus Christus de Hoeck-Steen," printed in 1708, was the first *book* printed in Dutch on this side of the Atlantic, so far as is now known.

The year 1710 saw issued, besides a new compilation of the "Province Laws," the first of the two issues of the only edition of the Book of Common Prayer printed in America. This work was undertaken at the instance of the vestry of Trinity Church, who in 1704 voted a loan without interest of thirty or forty pounds to Bradford to enable him to purchase the necessary paper. From this it may be assumed that the edition was a large one, but of the first issue only one perfect and one imperfect copy are known to exist, the latter having been the property of Mr. George Brinley, at the sale of whose library it realized $350. It is a small quarto

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THE

BOOK

OF

Common-Prayer,

And Adminiſtration of the

SACRAMENT

And Other

Rites and Ceremonies of the Church,

According to the Uſe of the

Church of England.

Together with the

PSALTER,

OR

Pſalms of David

Pointed as they are to be Sung or Said in

CHURCHES.

Printed and Sold by *William Bradford* in *New-York*,

Type-page of original title is 4⅞ inches by 6¾ inches.

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volume of 332 pages, the last 79 of which contain Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms. The first issue omitted Psalms XII–XVII. In the second issue this was corrected by the insertion of a leaf containing these Psalms and a repetition of verse 8 of Psalm XI. This and a new title-page constitute the only differences from the first issue. But one copy is known to be extant, and its title-page is somewhat defective. The venture seems to have been unsuccessful, for, upon complaint to the vestry, Bradford, "in consideration of the great loss he has sustained in printing the Common Prayer," was released from his obligation for the loan made in 1704.

The first separate American edition of Tate and Brady appeared in New York in 1713. Of this but a single copy is known, and that is imperfect. During the same year Wise's

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famous revolt against the Mathers, "The Churches Quarrel Espoused," was also issued here. In 1714 Bradford printed Governor Hunter's drama called "Androboros," and Keach's "War with the Devil," a then popular poem. The latter is a small duodecimo volume whose chief interest now lies in the doggerel recommendatory verses prefixed to it by the printer and his wife. Of the former, but a single copy can now be located, that in the library of the Duke of Devonshire, once the property of John Philip Kemble; another copy was sold at auction in Edinburgh about 1860, but its whereabouts is now unknown.

The principal book issued by Bradford in 1715 was the "Ne Orhoengene neoni Yogaraskhagh Yondereanayendaghkwa," commonly known as the Mohawk Prayer Book, a small quarto volume, interesting from a linguistic point of view and as one of the earliest

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efforts of the English to supply the aborigines of New York with printed religious instruction. George Petyt's "Lex Parliamentaria," and "Remarks upon Mr. Gales Reflections," the first publication of the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, sometime President of the College of New Jersey, appeared in 1716. Almanacs, public documents of New York and New Jersey, to which province Bradford had been King's Printer since 1703, and a few religious tracts are all that are known to have been printed in New York until 1724, when there appeared Governor Burnet's "Essay on Scripture-Prophecy," Bradford's typographical *chef d'œuvre,* and Colden's "Papers relating to . . . the Indian Trade," containing the first map engraved in New York, a copy of which sold for $685 at the second Brinley sale. In the following year Bradford seems to have formed a partnership with his former apprentice Zenger; but

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the single book issued with their joint imprint, Frilinghuisen's "Klagte Van Eenige Leeden der Nederduytse Hervormde Kerk, Woonende op Raretans," shows it was of short duration.

But *the* event of 1725 was the publication, on October 16, of the first number of the "New York Gazette," the first newspaper printed in New York. Until 1729 the paper was usually printed on a single leaf, although it occasionally contained four pages. From that time it was generally four pages, but sometimes two, three, or six. It was at all times ill printed, contained but scanty news, and of advertisements sometimes none and rarely more than five in an issue. It is to be wondered how it dragged on its wretched existence for nineteen years. No perfect file of it exists; the earliest number I have seen is No. 18, February 28 to March 7, 1725–26, and the latest No. 990, October 29, 1744. During its last year it

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bore the joint imprint of William Bradford and Henry De Foreest, and was the former's last connection with the press. It expired with No. 993 on November 19, 1744, and was succeeded, not, as has generally been asserted, by Parker's "New York Gazette," but by De Foreest's "New York Evening Post."

In 1726 Bradford issued the last of those bibliographical puzzles which he called "The Laws of Their, [Her or His] Majesties [*sic*] Province [or Colony] of New-York," the previous issues of which had been put forth in 1694, 1710, 1713, 1716, and 1719, of which it can be said that no two copies of the same date are ever exactly alike after page 72. In his last effort to print a collection of the laws he evidently modeled his book on the edition printed in London in 1719 by order of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, but even with

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this handsome book before him he managed to make enough errors of one kind or another to create two varieties of this edition, and his subsequent annual additions and an attempt to continue the collection to 1736 have converted this work into almost as great a muddle as its predecessors. Bradford's press produced in 1727 the first historical work printed in New York, Colden's "History of the Five Indian Nations," a duodecimo volume of less than 150 pages, of which the same copy has sold at the Menzies sale for $210, at the Brinley sale for $320, and at the Ives sale for $425.

Of Bradford's publications after 1727 not much need be said. The most important, historically, were those issued on the Government side of the Zenger case, and the public documents issued by him as printer to the Province. The rest were mainly sermons and almanacs; to the English "ephemerides"

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of Birkett and Leeds, in 1738 or earlier, he added an almanac in Dutch, which was continued by De Foreest.

Bradford maintained throughout his long life a reputation for probity and ability which brought him both business and office. Admitted a freeman of New York in 1695, he became a vestryman of Trinity Church in 1703, and in 1711 Clerk of the New Jersey Assembly. He was printer to the Province of New York from 1693 to 1742, and for those fifty years all the public documents of the province were printed at his press, except during 1737 and 1738, when the Assembly, in a spasm of republicanism, gave its work to Zenger. He was also printer to the Province of New Jersey from 1703 to 1733, with a brief interruption by Keimer in 1725, and a junction with his son Andrew, of Philadelphia, in 1733. His first wife died in 1731, and some time afterwards he married a widow, Cornelia Smith,

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with whose relatives he ultimately became involved in disputes resulting in serious pecuniary losses. At eighty years of age he retired entirely from business, and spent the declining years of his life with his son William, at whose house he died on the 23d of May, 1752, in the ninetieth year of his age.

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CHAPTER II

THE ZENGERS
(MORE ESPECIALLY JOHN PETER ZENGER)
AND THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

AMONG the thousands of Germans who by the bounty of the last of the Stuart dynasty were enabled to seek in America repose from the turbulence entailed on their native land by the wars of Louis XIV, was a widow and her three children. Of the latter, one was destined to be the only individual among those immigrants whose name is more than a genealogical atom to-day. John Peter Zenger, the hero of the most important trial which took place in colonial America, was born in

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Germany in 1697. The removal of the family took place about 1710, and in that year Zenger was bound an apprentice to William Bradford. On the expiration of his time Zenger went for a while to Maryland, where, perhaps, he married his first wife.

In 1722 he was again a resident of New York, as the record of his second marriage at the "Dutch Church" shows. He no doubt found employment with his former master, whose partner he became for a brief period in 1725. The only known work bearing the imprint of this firm has been already mentioned. In 1723 he was admitted a freeman of the city, and in 1726 he established the second printing-office in New York. Of his publications down to 1733, mostly sermons in English or Dutch, little need be said. "A Charge to the Grand Jury," printed by him in 1727, is interesting from Chief Justice Morris's allusion to

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witchcraft, which, he hoped, "we are so far West as to know only in name"; and the two tracts printed for Alexander Campbell, in 1732 and 1733, are of local historical value.

In the last-mentioned year Zenger began the publication of the second newspaper issued in New York. It was undertaken at the instance of and supported by a faction opposed to the then Royal Governor. Among them were some of the ablest men in New York of their day, and the boldness and bitterness of their attacks on Cosby soon attracted attention all over America and brought down on the printer the vengeance of the Governor. On November 2, 1734, Cosby issued an order directing certain issues of Zenger's paper to be seized and publicly "burnt by the hands of the common hangman," and on the 17th of the same month Zenger was arrested by order of the Council. He was

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charged with seditious libel, upon an information brought by the attorney-general before the Supreme Court, the grand jury having failed to indict him.

The court had been recently changed to agree with Cosby's views by the arbitrary removal of the former chief justice, Lewis Morris, afterwards governor of New Jersey and father of the signer of the Declaration of Independence of the same name. Zenger's counsel, James Alexander and William Smith, the leading spirits of the opposition to Cosby, applied for a writ of *habeas corpus*, but the court fixed bail at such an amount as Zenger could not furnish. Alexander and Smith then filed exceptions to the constitution of the court and were immediately disbarred, Chief Justice De Lancey saying, "You have brought it to that point that either we must go from the bench or you from the bar." In place of the eminent pleaders who had undertaken

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his defence Zenger had only to depend on counsel appointed by the court.

The series of unprecedented acts beginning with the arbitrary removal of Chief Justice Morris, and culminating with the disbarment of two of the most eminent New York lawyers of the time, aroused an intense popular excitement. The services of Andrew Hamilton, formerly attorney-general of Pennsylvania, and then, although age was compelling him to withdraw from active practice, the most distinguished member of the Philadelphia bar, and probably the only American lawyer ever admitted a bencher of Grey's Inn "per favor," were enlisted in Zenger's case, or, as he fairly termed it before the jury, the "cause of American liberty." Admitting the publication, Hamilton boldly pleaded its truth, and in contradiction of the legal doctrine of the time, "the greater the truth the greater the libel," he insisted on the right of

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the jury to determine both the law and facts, and in spite of the direction of the court to convict Zenger, the jury brought him in "not guilty," and after an imprisonment of thirty-five weeks he was free.

The verdict was received with a burst of applause by the spectators which astonished the court. The bench threatened to commit some of the leaders of the demonstration for contempt, when a son-in-law of the deposed Chief-Justice Morris boldly answered that "applause was common in Westminster Hall, and was loudest on the acquittal of the seven bishops," a significant allusion which brought further plaudits from the audience and no response from the judges. Hamilton was escorted in triumph by the populace to a public dinner hastily prepared in his honor; on his departure next day for Philadelphia he was given a salute with cannon, and was subse-

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quently presented with the freedom of the city inclosed in a suitably inscribed gold box which is still preserved by his descendants. The outcome of the prosecution of Zenger marks the foot of humanity advanced a rung higher on the ladder of universal freedom, to which the whole body has not even yet attained.

"A brief narrative of the case and tryal of John Peter Zenger, Printer of the 'New York Weekly Journal,'" printed as a folio pamphlet by Zenger in 1736, became the most famous publication issued in America before the "Farmer's Letters." Five editions were printed in London, and one in Boston in 1738; numerous others have appeared since, and it holds a recognized place in both English and American State trials. The account of the trial was probably prepared by James Alexander, who was also doubtless the author of the series of papers which

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appeared in the "Pennsylvania Gazette" in 1737, over the signature of X, in reply to Blenman's "Remarks on Zenger's Tryal."

Some benefit as well as fame accrued to Zenger. In 1737 the New York Assembly made him its printer, and in the following year the legislature of New Jersey did the same. Both offices were soon lost, however, owing to his being an indifferent printer and very ignorant of the English language; at least, Thomas admits the latter, but says he was "a good workman and a scholar." His publications abundantly prove the incorrectness of the first assertion, and of the second I have found no evidence. The handsomest specimen of Zenger's press which I have seen is the edition (in small folio) of the Charter of the City of New York printed by him in 1735. A copy of this volume was sold at the second Brinley sale for $140, and resold at the

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THE

Charter

OF THE

CITY

OF

NEW-YORK;

Printed by Order of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City aforesaid.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,

The Act of the General Assembly Confirming the same.

NEW-YORK,
Printed by John Peter Zenger. 1735.

Type-page of original title is 10 inches by 6⅜ inches.

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Ives sale for $230. Among the important publications issued by Zenger about the same time were "A Vindication of James Alexander . . . and of William Smith," and "The Complaint of James Alexander and William Smith to the . . . General Assembly," both folio pamphlets of excessive rarity and great historical importance, but of which, I believe, no library in New York possesses a copy.

Zenger continued his newspaper until his death, and after that event it was carried on by his widow and later by his eldest son. His other publications, so far as I know of them, were mostly of a religious nature, and are now of but little interest except as specimens of his press. Mr. William Kelby tells me that Zenger "died in New York City, on the 28th of July, 1746, in the 49th year of his age, leaving a widow and six children."

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JOHN ZENGER, John Peter Zenger's only child by his first wife, was born about 1719. He learned the "art and mystery of printing" in his father's office. About 1741 he married Anneke Lynssen, and I suppose continued to assist his father. Early in 1746 his name appears as J. Zenger, Jun., on a pamphlet by Griffith Jenkin, called "A Brief Vindication of the Purchassors Against the Propritors [*sic*] in A Christian Manner." It is a rare little tract relating to the title of lands around Newark, a copy of which sold for $205 at the second Brinley sale, and of which I know of but three others. In 1749 he became the publisher of "The Weekly New-York Journal" and "Hutchins' Almanac" (then called Nathan's), which had been published by his stepmother. These he continued till his death, which occurred some time before July, 1751, when his press and type were sold by auction.

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A Brief VINDICATION OF THE Purchaſſors Againſt the PROPRITORS, IN A Chriſtian Manner.

NEW-YORK.
Printed, By J. Zenger, jun. 1745-6.

Type-page of original title is 5 1/16 inches by 2 7/8 inches.

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I have met with no other publications bearing this printer's name.

ANNA CATHARINE ZENGER was a native of Germany, and became the second wife of John Peter Zenger at New York, August 24, 1722. Her maiden name was Maul. She bore Zenger several children, whose baptisms are recorded, as is her marriage, at the "Dutch Church," in New-York City. On the death of her husband she continued his business, carrying on the "New-York Weekly Journal" until December, 1748, when she resigned it as well as the business to her stepson John Zenger. She published the first issue of "John Nathan Hutchins'," at first called "Nathan's," but after 1751, "Hutchins' New York Almanac," in 1746, and in the following year "An Answer to the Council of Proprietor's two Publications [of East New Jer-

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A N

Almanack,

FOR

The Year of Chriſtian Account,

1749,

Being the firſt after LEAP-YEAR.

Wherein is Contained,

The Lunations, Eclipſes, and Judgment of the Weather, Planets Motions, and Mutual Aſpects and Time of Sun and Moon's riſing and ſetting. the riſing ſouthing and ſetting of the Seven Stars. and ſeveral other remarkable Stars. length of Days, a Tide-Table Fairs, Courts, Obſervable Days. &c.

Fitted to the Vertex of the City of *Perth Amboy* in *New Jerſey*, but may without ſenſible Error ſerve ſerve the adjacent Provinces from *Newfoundland* to *South Carolina*.

By JOHN NATHAN, Philomath.

NEW YORK
Printed and Sold by the Widow *Catharine Zenger*, at the Printing Office, in Stone Street.

Exact size of original.

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sey]," a folio pamphlet of great rarity. Thomas says, about 1750 she lived at "Golden Hill, near Hermanus Rutgers, where she sold pamphlets, etc."

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CHAPTER III

THE PARKERS
AND THEIR NUMEROUS ESTABLISHMENTS

JAMES PARKER was born at Woodbridge, in Middlesex County, New Jersey, in 1714. His father, Samuel Parker, was a son of Elisha Parker, who removed to Woodbridge from Staten Island as early as 1675, and was a man of some means and local prominence in his day. In 1725 James Parker was apprenticed to William Bradford in New York. Of his apprenticeship I only know that he showed his dissatisfaction by running away from his master, who advertised in the "New York Gazette" a small reward for his cap-

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ture. How Parker found his way back is not known, but he certainly served out his time, and in 1742 started business for himself, having secured the position of Printer to the Province of New York in succession to Bradford. This office he retained until 1761. His first production was the votes of the Assembly for the latter part of 1742. His next publication, so far as it is known, was the third newspaper published in New York, which was at first called "The New-York Weekly Post-Boy." Number 5, the first I have seen, is dated February 1, 1742–43, from which I infer that the paper was begun on the January 4th preceding. It was a small quarto at first, a larger one in 1744; in 1753 it appeared as a small folio, and in 1756 it attained the usual size of the newspaper of the day. Well printed and edited, it soon became a popular and successful newspaper. In 1745, on the death of Bradford's

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"New York Gazette," Parker changed the name of his paper to "The New York Gazette revived in the Weekly Post-Boy." In 1753 this title was slightly modified, and from that date until 1759 bore the imprint of Parker & Weyman. From 1757 to 1760 every paper bore an impression in red, the stamp prescribed under the provincial act of 1756 — the first American stamp act, complied with without demur and forgotten in consequence. The number for February 5, 1759, bears the imprint of James Parker; while that of February 12 has the name of his nephew Samuel Parker as publisher, to whom the elder Parker had turned over his business in New York. Samuel Parker continued to publish the paper, frequently without his name, till August 31, 1760, when it appeared continuously until May 6, 1762, with the name of James Parker & Co., John Holt being

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the unmentioned partner of the firm. From the last-mentioned date until October 9, 1766, Holt appears to have had the entire management of "The Gazette." On October 23, 1766, Parker resumed control and carried on the paper until July 2, 1770. Then for a month the paper appeared without a publisher's name, but from August 17, 1770, to February 1, 1773, or later, the names of Samuel Inslee and Anthony Car appeared as printers. The paper seems to have been suspended before June 27, 1773, when Samuel F. Parker and John Anderson announced their intention of publishing it in August next. Thomas says they did so for a brief period, but I have not been able to substantiate this statement.

Parker's first work was "Enchiridium Polychrestum," privately printed for the author, who, according to his book-plate, was "Robert Elliston Gent Comptrol[r] of his Majesties [*sic*] Cus-

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toms of New York in America." The title-page is dated 1740, the dedication Vigil. Omn. Sanct. [November 1] 1741, but the typography is neither Bradford's nor Zenger's, and is Parker's; besides which the printer's "flowers" used throughout it all appear in works from no other American printing-office than the latter's. The work is highly mystical, and the author probably insisted on preserving in print the dates he had affixed to his manuscript, though the book was not printed until 1742. In 1743 Parker published, besides almanacs, public documents, and his newspapers, only a couple of sermons and an edition of Shepherd's "Sincere Convert"; but in the following year he printed an account of a memorable and bloody event in New York history in a handsome quarto volume, clumsily entitled "A Journal of the Proceedings in The Detection of the Conspiracy,"— and so on for nearly a solid page,—

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A

JOURNAL

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

IN

The Detection of the Conſpiracy

FORMED BY

Some *White* People, in Conjunction with *Negro* and other *Slaves*,

FOR

Burning the City of *NEW-YORK* in AMERICA,

And Murdering the Inhabitants.

Which Conſpiracy was partly put in Execution, by Burning His Majeſty's Houſe in Fort GEORGE, within the ſaid City, on Wedneſday the Eighteenth of *March*, 1741 and ſetting Fire to ſeveral Dwelling and other Houſes there, within a few Days ſucceeding. And by another Attempt made in Proſecution of the ſame infernal Scheme, by putting Fire between two other Dwelling-Houſes within the ſaid City, on the Fifteenth Day of *February*, 1742; which was accidentally and timely diſcovered and extinguiſhed

CONTAINING,

I. A NARRATIVE of the Trials, Condemnations, Executions, and Behaviour of the ſeveral Criminals, at the Gallows and Stake, with their *Speeches* and *Confeſſions*; with Notes, Obſervations and Reflections occaſionally interſperſed throughout the Whole.

II An APPENDIX, wherein is ſet forth ſome additional Evidence concerning the ſaid Conſpiracy and Conſpirators, which has come to Light ſince their Trials and Executions

III Lists of the ſeveral Perſons (Whites and Blacks) committed on Account of the Conſpiracy; and of the ſeveral Criminals executed; and of thoſe tranſported, with the Places whereto.

By the Recorder of the City of NEW-YORK.

Quid faciunt Domini, audent cum talia Fures? Virg. Ecl.

NEW-YORK:
Printed by *James Parker*, at the New Printing-Office, 1744

Type-page of original title is $8\frac{3}{16}$ inches by $6\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

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which has come to be known as Horsmanden's Negro Plot. The Rice copy of this important book was bought by George Brinley for $140; at the Brinley sale it was sold to Brayton Ives for $330; and at the sale of Ives's books it brought $280. The Barlow copy, with a half-title usually wanting, sold for $310. In the same year Parker paid the first tribute in New York to literary culture by reprinting Richardson's "Pamela," and he followed this in 1745 with New York's first contribution to Science in Colden's "Explication of the First Causes of Action in Matter," for a copy of which as long ago as the second Brinley sale somebody paid $112.50. One of the public documents printed by him in 1746 was a folio pamphlet, "A Treaty with the Six Nations held at Albany in August and September 1746," of which but one perfect copy is known. In 1747 he printed, with numerous other books

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A Guide to Veſtrymen:

OR, AN

ESSAY,

ENDEAVOURING

To Shew the DUTY and POWER

OF THE

VESTRYMEN

OF THE

City and County of *NEW-YORK*,

COLLECTED

From diverſe Acts of Aſſembly of the Colony of New-York, and Cuſtoms of the ſaid City:

INTERSPERSED

With ſome Conſiderations and Reflections, proper for ſuch who may hereafter be choſen to the ſaid Office, and intended chiefly for their USE.

Publiſhed by Order of the Corporation

Prov. xxix. 7. *The Righteous conſidereth the Cauſe of the Poor: but the Wicked regardeth not to know it.*

NEW-YORK:
Printed and Sold by *James Parker*, at the New-Printing-Office in Beaver-Street, 1747

Exact size of original.

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and pamphlets, "A Bill in the Chancery of New-Jersey, at the suit of John Earl of Stair, and others," against the clinker-lot-right-men of Elizabeth Town; a smart satire on the Vestry of New York, called a "Guide to Vestrymen," which well deserves reprinting; and William Livingston's (lawyer, demagogue, and governor of New Jersey) first publication in the shape of a poetical effusion on "Philosophic Solitude." In 1748, 1749, and 1750, besides his government and newspaper work, nothing appeared of note (he, of course, printed a lot of sermons and chap-books) except Watts's "Horæ Lyricæ." This appeared in the last-named year and is interesting from the American flavor lent it by the verses prefixed by the Rev. Mather Byles, and the ode addressed to Jonathan Belcher, governor of New Jersey and Massachusetts. In 1751 Parker issued "The Importance of the Friendship

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of the Indians," and an entirely unneeded "Sure Guide to Hell." 1752 saw from Parker's press, in addition to the handsome volume containing the first scientific collection of the Province Laws now known as Livingston and Smith's edition, a weekly paper called "The Independent Reflector," a democratic Presbyterian affair which was continued until, as its title says, it was "tyrannically suppressed in 1753." During the latter part of 1753 he also issued another weekly, called "The Occasional Reverberator," of which I have seen but four numbers; and in the early part of 1755 he and Weyman began a third short-lived weekly called "The Instructor." Thomas mentions still another weekly published in 1755 by Parker & Weyman, called "John Englishman, In Defence of the English Constitution," and says it was continued for upwards of three months.

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In 1751 Parker had established the first printing office of any permanency in New Jersey. In 1723 William Bradford moved one of his presses to Perth Amboy, and in 1728 Samuel Keimer, of Philadelphia, sent one of his to Burlington; but these offices existed but a short time. Parker, like Bradford, now became printer to the Province of New Jersey as well as New York, and retained the former position until his death. He made over his Woodbridge office to his son Samuel F. Parker in 1765, and started another printing-house at Burlington, from which came Smith's History of New Jersey. In 1754 he obtained the office of postmaster of New Haven, and established a printing-office there, leaving it and the post-office to the care of John Holt, of whom more hereafter. Towards the end of 1753 Parker entered into a partnership with William Weyman, to whom he confided the New

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York business, giving his personal attention to the Woodbridge office.

The principal publications of Parker & Weyman are Eliot's "Essay on Husbandry as ordered in New England," 1753–54; the first publication of the Rev. William Smith, afterwards provost of the University of Pennsylvania, "An Ode on the New Year 1753," and the same author's "General Idea of the College of Mirania," also 1753; "The Charter of the College of New York," afterwards King's, now Columbia, 1754; Nakskow's "Articles of Faith, of The Holy Evangelical [Lutheran] Church," 1754, a quarto of nearly 450 pages; "Proposals to prevent Scalping," 1755, not favorably received by the Indians; "Considerations towards a General Plan of Measures for the English Provinces," 1756; a translation of the French "Mémoire contenant les Précis des Faits," which contained a French rendering of the journal of Washing-

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ton, captured at Fort Necessity, and extracts from the ill-fated Braddock's papers; and two treaties with the Indians, one held at Fort Johnson and the other at Albany in 1757. The partnership was dissolved in 1759, and Parker ceased to be printer to New York. He turned over his New York office and newspaper to his nephew Samuel Parker, but in August, 1760, he recalled Holt from New Haven and placed him in charge in New York. The newspaper and the few inconsiderable publications issued from Parker's New York office bore the name of James Parker & Co. until 1762, when Holt's name alone was substituted. In 1766 Parker resumed control of the office, and continued it under his own name till his death. Francis Hopkinson's musical arrangement of the English translation of the Psalms for the Dutch Church, issued in 1767, and the first book of music printed from

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type in America, is about the only volume of interest bearing Parker's name during these years. Parker's work was marked by neatness and accuracy, and was a great improvement over Bradford's and Zenger's. His business about 1757 or 1758 was probably the most extensive of its kind in America.

In 1756 he was arrested by order of the New York Assembly for publishing in his "Gazette" some "Observations on the Circumstances and Conduct of the People in the Counties of Ulster and Orange," but was discharged a week later upon apologizing to the Assembly, giving the name of the author, and paying costs. He had a similar experience in December, 1769, on account of a Son of Liberty's address "To the Betrayed Inhabitants of New York." The fact of its having been printed in Parker's New York office was disclosed to the authorities by one of the journeymen employed there,

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and he was arrested at his residence in Woodbridge and brought to New York on the charge of printing a seditious libel. But as before he secured his release by giving up the name of the author. He became secretary and comptroller of the general post-office for the Northern District, and a man of consequence in his native place, where, at the time of his death, he was captain of the local troop of horse. He died while visiting a friend in Burlington, on June 24, 1770, and was buried the next day at Woodbridge. The obituary which appeared in the New York paper of the time concludes, not very gracefully, he "has left a fair character, on which we have neither time nor room to enlarge."

The preamble to his will is sufficiently curious to be worthy of being reproduced here. The New York Board of Health may find in it a new and convenient explanation of many

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mysterious cases, as Job's has been rather antiquated for some time past. "In the name of God amen, I James Parker of the City of New York, Printer, reflecting on the uncertainty of this life and being in sound mind and memory blessed be God do make this my last will and testament as follows: Imprimis, My soul an immortal part not so properly my own as anothers believing it to be purchased by the Lord Jesus Christ at the inestimable price of His own Blood, I bequeath to Him, relying firmly that for His own name and word's sake He will fulfil His Promise and Right against all the Malice of the evil one who by his continual attacks on my poor intellectuals has caused me to be defiled from the Crown of my Head to the Soles of my Feet so that I am unable to help myself."

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A

Pocket Commentary

Of the first Settling of *NEW-JERSEY*, by the EUROPEANS;

AND,

An ACCOUNT,

OR

Fair DETAIL

Of the Original *Indian Elizabeth-Town* Grants:

And other Rights of the like Tenure, in

EAST NEW-JERSEY.

(DIGESTED IN ORDER.)

Wherein is intermixed a great Part of the Annals (if they may be ſo called) of *New-Jerſey*, in general; extracted out of the Reverend Doctor *Peter Heylin*; the accurate and facetious *William Douglaſs*, Eſquire, Doctor of Phyſick; and other Authors; from its Beginning, to the Year 1745.

NEW YORK: Printed by *Samuel Parker*. 1759.

Type-page of original title is 5¾ inches by 3¼ inches.

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SAMUEL PARKER, according to Thomas, was an apprentice as well as a nephew of James Parker, whom I have already mentioned. He managed the Woodbridge office for a while, and in February, 1759, was placed in charge of the one owned by his uncle in New York. Here his management of the business was not satisfactory, and the elder Parker resumed control in July, 1760. The only thing I have seen bearing his imprint besides the "New York Gazette" is a very rare pamphlet printed in 1759, "A Pocket Commentary Of the first Settling of New-Jersey, by the Europeans." Thomas says he removed to Wilmington, North Carolina, and died there prior to the Revolution.

SAMUEL FRANKLIN PARKER was the son of James Parker. In 1765 his father established an office at Burlington, New Jersey, and made

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THE CLAIM OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF *NEWARK*,

IN VIRTUE OF

The INDIAN PURCHASE made by the first Settlers of NEWARK, in 1667,

STATED AND CONSIDERED.

WOODBRIDGE, in *New-Jersey*:
Printed by SAMUEL F. PARKER.
M.DCC.LXVI.

Type-page of original title is 6¼ inches by 3⅝ inches.

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over the Woodbridge plant to his son; but when the elder Parker resumed control of his New York office in 1766 the son was given an interest and placed in charge of the business there. Soon after his father's death, his own health being feeble, he leased the office to Inslee & Car. On their failure to succeed he attempted to revive the "New York Gazette," taking John Anderson as a partner. This effort, probably owing to the turbulence of the times, was unsuccessful, and he retired from business.

He died at Woodbridge, December 6, 1779, aged thirty-three years. I have met with nothing bearing his imprint except the "New York Gazette" and "The Claim of the Inhabitants of the Town of Newark, in virtue of the Indian Purchase made by the first Settlers of Newark in 1667," printed by him at Woodbridge in 1766, of which but a single copy is known.

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This pamphlet has a curious history. Some twenty-five years ago, Joseph Sabin, the projector of that unfinished monument of bibliographical work, "A Dictionary of Books relating to America," found the first twelve pages of it and sold them to Dr. George H. Moore. Nearly twenty years later another New York bookseller purchased a tract printed by Franklin & Hall which seemed to be complete, but, upon examination, proved to end with a leaf belonging to some other pamphlet. He showed it to Mr. Wilberforce Eames of the Lenox Library (of which Dr. Moore was then superintendent), by whom it was recognized as the missing leaf of Dr. Moore's pamphlet. Dr. Moore, on hearing of the discovery, purchased the leaf for twenty dollars, and completed his copy.

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CHAPTER IV

HENRY DE FOREEST AND THE MINOR PRESSES OF THE MIDDLE OF THE CENTURY: SAMUEL BROWN, WILLIAM WEYMAN, SAMUEL FARLEY, BENJAMIN MECOM, AND SAMUEL CAMPBELL

HENRY DE FOREEST, New York's first native printer, was born in 1712, and baptized at the Dutch Church November 2 of that year. His father, Barent De Foreest, was a son of Hendrick De Foreest, who was a son of Isaac De Foreest, a native of Leyden who settled in New York about 1637. He was apprenticed to Bradford at an early age, served his time, and was admitted a freeman of New York city

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AN

Almanack,

For the Year of our Lord *Chriſt*,

1750.

Being the *Second* Year after *Leap-Year*, and in the *Twenty Third* Year of the Reign of our moſt gracious Sovereign Lord King *George* the Second.

Wherein is contained the Lunations, Eclipſes, Suns Riſing and Setting, the mutual Aſpects of the Planets, and their Places in the Ecliptick, Riſing and Setting of the Seven Stars, Time of High-Water, Moons Age, Courts, Fairs, General Meetings, obſerveable Days, Judgement of the Weather, and a Deſcription of the Roads, &c.

Fitted for the Latitude of 41 Degrees, *North*, and for the Meridian of the City of *New-York* but may without ſenſible Error ſerve for all the Neighbouring Governments.

By *Roger Sherman*.

NEW YORK.
Printed and Sold by HENRY DE FOREEST, living in *Wall-Street* at the SIGN OF THE PRINTING PRESS.

Size of original.

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November 12, 1734. On the 24th of the following month he married Susannah, daughter of Benjamin Bill and widow of William Golding. He remained with Bradford for some years after the expiration of his time, and about 1742 became a partner in the "New York Gazette." Towards the end of 1744 he acquired Bradford's interest in this paper, and on October 26 of that year changed its name and time of issue to the "New York Evening Post," the first afternoon paper published in America. The paper was unusually well printed and fairly edited, but was not a success. It was, however, continued to 1752 or later, the last number I have met with being March 30, 1752. The earliest pamphlet I have seen printed by De Foreest is a bitter attack upon the Moravians by Gerardus Duyckinck, issued in 1743. Besides his newspaper, the almanacs customarily published by every printer of

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the time, and a number of pamphlets, I know of nothing of much consequence printed by De Foreest until 1749, when he issued Sherman's "Almanack for the Year of our Lord Christ, 1750," the first publication of that cobbler statesman of Connecticut whose fate it was to be the only man who signed all four of the great documents on which our government is based. How long De Foreest continued to print I do not know; he published a sermon in Dutch in July, 1754, and was dead before August, 1766, when his widow sold some of his real estate. One of his daughters married Samuel Brown, whom I shall next mention.

SAMUEL BROWN was a bookseller in New York about 1755. He had perhaps succeeded to the business of Henry De Foreest, whose daughter he

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A Faithful
NARRATIVE
Of the
Remarkable Revival of Religion,
in the
Congregation of *Eaſt-Hampton*,
on *Long-Iſland*.
In the Year of our Lord 1764.
with
Some Reflections.

By SAMUEL BUELL, *A. M.* Miniſter of the Goſpel there.

Pſal. xxvi. 7. That I may publiſh with the Voice of Thankſgiving, and tell of all thy wondrous Works.
Pſal. clxv. 4. One Generation ſhall praiſe thy Works to another, and ſhall declare thy mighty Acts.
Pſal. cii. 18. This ſhall be written for the Generation to come.
1 *Theſſ.* i. 7, 8 For from you ſounded out the Word of the Lord.

NEW-YORK.

Printed by SAMUEL BROWN, at the Foot of *Pot-Baker's Hill*, between the New *Dutch-Church* and *Fly-Market*, 1766.

Exact size of original.

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had married. In 1761 he formed a partnership with James Rivington as Rivington & Brown, the former managing the bookselling business in Philadelphia. A branch house was established in Boston in 1762, but the firm was dissolved in 1765, and Brown opened a printing-office of his own. I have seen only two small volumes bearing his imprint, both of which appeared in 1766. In February, 1769, the widow De Foreest advertised the sale of the "Printing Press, Types and other Material formerly belonging to Henry De Foreest, deceased, and lately occupied by Samuel Brown."

WILLIAM WEYMAN was a son of the Rev. Robert Weyman, who about 1720 was sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to take charge of "episcopal" churches at Oxford and Radnor in Pennsylvania,

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whence he removed in 1731 to the care of St. Mary's church, Burlington, New Jersey, where he died in 1737, leaving a wife and six children "in low circumstances." William Weyman, says Thomas, was born in Philadelphia, and served his apprenticeship there under William Bradford, the grandson of New York's first printer. In 1748 he is said to have printed the second edition of Theodorus Frilinghuysen's "Jeugd-oeffening of Verhandeling van de Godlyke waarheden, der Christelyk religie, by wyze van vragen en antwoorden, tot onderwijs der ionkeyd."

In 1753 he became a partner of James Parker, whose New York office and newspaper he managed until the dissolution of the firm in 1759. In 1756 both partners were arrested for an article published in their paper which gave offence to the Assembly; both were finally discharged upon apologizing and giving up the author's name.

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Evening Service

OF

ROSHASHANAH,

AND

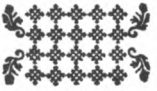
KIPPUR.

OR

The BEGINNING of the YEAR,

AND

The DAY of ATONEMENT.



NEW-YORK:
Printed by *W. Weyman*, in *Bread-Street*, MDCCLXI.

Type-page of original title is 6⅞ inches by 3¾ inches.

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After separating from Parker, Weyman opened a printing-office of his own; in February, 1759, he began a new "New York Gazette," and later in the year supplanted Parker as printer to the Province. In the latter capacity he printed the second volume of Livingston and Smith's revision of the provincial laws, the acts and votes of the Assembly until 1767, and in 1765 "The Charter of the city of New York." Besides these public documents and his newspaper Weyman issued few important publications — "The Bill of Complaint in the Chancery of New Jersey, brought by Thomas Clarke and others against the Proprietors of East-New-Jersey," printed in 1760, and the "Evening Service of Roshashanah, and Kippur," the first volumes of Jewish prayers printed in America, and perhaps the first printed in the English language, issued in 1761, being the only important exceptions.

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In 1764 he undertook the printing of a new edition of the "Mohawk Prayer Book," but left it unfinished at his death. His newspaper was never very successful, and was finally suspended in December, 1767—not, however, before the careless printing of the Assembly's address to the Governor had occasioned his appearance at the bar of the House to beg pardon of its offended majesty. He died in New York City, after a lingering illness, on July 27, 1768.

SAMUEL FARLEY was the son of Felix Farley, a Quaker printer of Bristol, England. He settled in New York in 1760, and in the following year began the publication of a weekly newspaper called "The American Chronicle." In 1762 his printing-office was destroyed by fire, and he returned to Bristol, and there published

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some tracts by Samuel Fothergill. He afterward emigrated to Georgia, where he practised law at Savannah. In 1774 he was chosen one of the committee to receive subscriptions for the poor inhabitants of Boston, and in May, 1780, was elected a member of the Georgia Assembly from Savannah. As Thomas says, "When he died I cannot say." I have found no trace of him as a New York printer outside of Thomas's "History of Printing."

BENJAMIN MECOM was born in Boston about 1728. He was the son of Edward Mecom by his marriage with Jane, youngest sister of Benjamin Franklin. He learned his trade in Philadelphia, at the office of his celebrated uncle, and about 1750 established himself in business at St. John in the island of Antigua. Soon after his arrival there he began "The

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Antigua Gazette," which he conducted for several years. In 1756 he returned to Boston and opened a printing-office there, printing as his first work in his new location an edition of thirty thousand copies of "The Psalter" for the booksellers, at a rate which yielded him less than a journeyman's wages. In 1758 he began "The New England Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure," but issued only three or four numbers. One of its departments he called "Queer Notions," which, owing to his own eccentricities, became a nickname of the printer. In 1760 he published a separate edition of the "Wisdom of Poor Richard" as collected by Franklin in the almanac for 1758, under the title of "Father Abraham's Speech," the first of some four hundred similar publications which, as "The Way to Wealth," "La Science de Bonhomme Richard," etc., have been issued down to the present time. In 1763 he moved

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to New York and began the publication of "The New-York Pacquet" in July of that year, at "The Modern Printing Office, in Rotten-Row"; but, having been appointed postmaster of New Haven in 1764, he bought out Parker & Co's establishment there, and removed to that place. He revived their "Connecticut Gazette," and continued it until 1767, when he sold out to Samuel Green and went to Philadelphia, where, in January, 1769, he started a very small and short-lived weekly newspaper called "The Penny Post." This proved a failure, and in September, 1770, he issued a printed letter to the "Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of Philadelphia," from which the following is an extract:

Sir, Be pleased to permit me to inform you, that I have been in this City a few months more than two Years, during which time I have endeavored to get constant employment at my own business, but being disappointed, My Wife (the

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Bearer hereof) has been frequently advised to apply to your Worships for a recommendation to his Honour the Governor, to grant us a License to sell spiritous Liquors by small Measure, at a House where we have now lived almost a Quarter, where such Sale has been continued. We are not fond of the Prospect it affords farther than as it may contribute to support a number of young growing Children whose Welfare we would earnestly and honestly endeavor to secure.

At all the places where he had a printing-office he published a few pamphlets, none of which are of particular importance. Mecom finally found a place with William Goddard, the publisher of "The Pennsylvania Chronicle," and after that paper ceased to exist in 1774, was employed by Isaac Collins at Burlington. Thomas says "he lived for some time in Salem county; and finished his earthly pilgrimage soon after the beginning of the revolutionary war." The same writer relates from personal observa-

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tion some of Mecom's eccentricities. The latter came frequently to the office where Thomas was serving his apprenticeship, handsomely dressed, and wearing a "powdered bob wig, ruffles and gloves, gentlemanlike appendages which printers of that day did not assume, and thus apparelled would often assist for an hour." He would "indeed put on an apron to save his clothes from blacking, and guarded his ruffles, but he wore his coat, his wig, his hat, and his gloves, whilst working at the press, and at case laid aside his apron." Mecom was well educated, of good address, and an ingenious as well as a good workman, but was more inclined to experiment than to give strict attention to his business. "He was," says Thomas, "the first person, so far as I know, who attempted stereotype printing. He actually cast plates for several pages of the New Testament, and made considerable progress towards

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THE DEATH OF ABEL.

IN

FIVE BOOKS.

ATTEMPTED FROM THE

GERMAN of Mr. GESSNER.

BY MARY COLLYER.

—NEW-YORK:—
PRINTED AND SOLD BY S. CAMPBELL,
NO. 37, HANOVER-SQUARE.

1764.

Exact size of original.

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the completion of them, but he never effected it."

SAMUEL CAMPBELL was the name of the printer of a translation of Gessner's "Death of Abel," which appeared in New York in 1764. I have been unable to ascertain anything concerning him, or that he printed anything else.

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CHAPTER V

HUGH GAINE, THE IRISH PRINTER AND HIS JOURNALISTIC STRADDLE

HUGH GAINE was born in Belfast, Ireland, in 1726, and learned his trade there in the office of James Macgee. At the expiration of his apprenticeship he emigrated to New York, where he found employment with James Parker. In 1752 Gaine opened a printing-house of his own, and on August 3 of that year began the publication of "The New-York Weekly Mercury," and continued the paper under that title until 1770, when he changed it to "The New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury."

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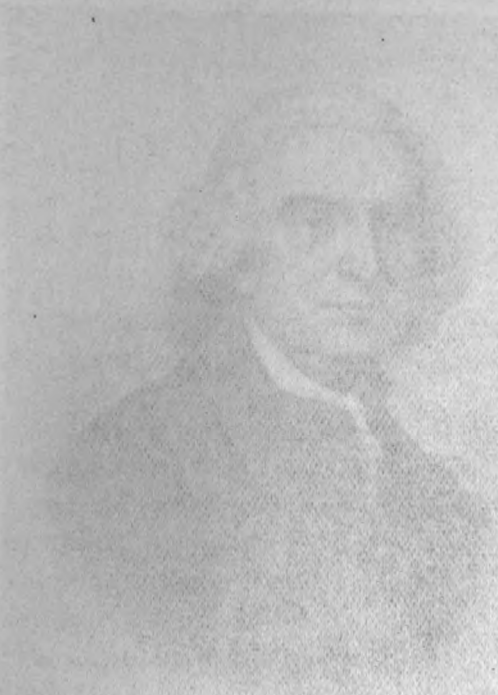

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HUGH GAINE

From a portrait in the possession of E. H. Butler Esq.

Dodd, Mead and Company, New York

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Under the latter title it continued to appear until November 10, 1783, when he ceased its publication. In 1753 he incurred the displeasure of the Assembly on account of publishing an inaccurate report of their proceedings, and was summoned to the bar of the House, where, upon his apologizing, he was reprimanded by the Speaker and released.

When the Stamp Act came in force in November, 1765, Gaine, like many other American publishers, suspended the regular issue of his paper. In place of it he put forth a sheet sometimes headed "A Patriotic Advertisement," and at others "No Stamped Paper to be had." One other incident in Gaine's career in connection with his newspaper must be mentioned. It is, I believe, without a parallel in the annals of journalism. At the outbreak of the Revolution Gaine, after a slight leaning toward

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the American cause, assumed and maintained a strict neutrality; but when it became likely that the British would occupy New York in September, 1776, he sent one of his presses to Newark, and on the 28th of that month began to issue there a quarto newspaper bearing the name and imprint of "The New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury, Printed by Hugh Gaine, at Newark, in East-New-Jersey," devoted to the Whig cause, at the same time continuing to issue his neutral paper of the same name, from his sign of "the Bible and Crown," in Hanover Square. The Newark edition was issued two days earlier than the New York one, but, besides bearing the same name, was numbered in sequence with the earliest issued. This was continued until November 2, making duplicate numbers and two papers of different politics from No. 1301 to 1307. After the battle of Long Island

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Gaine concluded the American to be the losing side, withdrew from Newark, and gave his paper a British tone, which it preserved until its termination. The Lenox Library possesses the only known file of this curious example of the same newspaper published simultaneously on two sides of a question then at the arbitration of the sword.

In the early part of his career Gaine was concerned in two other periodicals. In August, 1754, he began the publication of a short-lived weekly, called "The Plebeian," of which I have not seen a copy; and later in the same year he was prevailed upon by William Livingston and Rev. Aaron Burr to revive their suppressed "Independent Reflector" under the title of "The Watch Tower." The latter was not only issued separately, but was published weekly in the "Mercury," and was continued for about a year.

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Gaine's press was the most prolific of its time in New York. Among the more important and interesting of his publications are: Addison's "Cato," 1753; Blair's "The Grave," 1753; "A Brief Vindication of the Proceedings of the Trustees Relating to The College [of New York]," 1754; "Psalmodia Germanica, or the German Psalmody translated from the High Dutch," 1754, an octavo of about 260 pages; a reprint of Makemie's "Narrative," 1755; Thomson's "Discourse on Inoculation" (first printed in Philadelphia, 1750), 1756; "A Memorial containing A Summary View of Facts" (of which Parker & Weyman also published an edition, as already noted), 1757; "The Trial of Admiral Byng," 1757; the first "Catalogue of the Books belonging to the New York Society's Library," 1758, which he again printed in 1773; a translation of Frederick the Great's poem on War, 1758; what would now be a

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highly interesting and curious volume, "The New American Mock Bird," a collection of the best songs on different subjects, 1761. In 1762 he reprinted Hopkinson's poem on Science without the author's consent, and published a quaintly worded card of excuse, alleging that he had done so, not from "any lucrative view, but only to promote the circulation of so excellent a piece."

In 1765 he issued (as did nearly every printer then in America) an edition of "An Act for granting certain stamp duties in the British Colonies in America," the odious "Stamp Act," and in 1766 he completed his *magnum opus*, "Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly Of the Colony of New-York, 1691–1765," in two folio volumes of nearly nine hundred pages each, the first of which was issued in 1764. In 1768 he became printer to

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the Government, and from that year until the Revolution printed the votes and acts of Assembly, and the other public documents of the colony. In 1769 he printed, "A Treatise on Courts Martial," the first work of its kind in English for Stephen Payne Adye, a lieutenant of the Royal Artillery; "Middleton's Discourse on the opening of the [first] Medical School in the City of New York"; and completed the edition of the "Mohawk Prayer Book," begun by Weyman in 1764. In 1770 he printed the "Rules for the St. Andrew's Society," and in the following year the "Charter for establishing an Hospital in the city of New York," and the third issue of "The Charter of the City of Albany."

Among his publications in 1773 were Porteus's "Life of Archbishop Secker," with an appendix by the Rev. T. B. Chandler, which contains much valuable matter relating to the Episcopal

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Church in America, and "A State of the Right of the Colony of New-York, with respect To it's Eastern Boundary on Connecticut River, So far as concerns the late Encroachments under The Government of New-Hampshire," a copy of which sold for $190 at the second Brinley sale. In 1774 he issued Van Schaack's edition of the Laws of the Province, a folio volume of nearly 850 pages; "The Charter" and "Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Constitutions" of the City of New York; the first catalogue of the alumni of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton); "A Collection of Statutes" relating to the Post Office; and an edition of the "Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress, Held at Philadelphia," first printed in Philadelphia. In 1775 and 1776 Gaine's publications were ephemeral pamphlets, of which only the "Rules and Articles for the better Government of the Troops of the

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Twelve United Colonies" need be mentioned.

Of Gaine's publications in 1777 two are worth noticing here; the first American edition of "Robinson Crusoe" is one which requires no note to emphasize its importance. The other was a volume curious in itself, interesting from the portrait of Lord Percy, engraved in New York, which was prefixed as a frontispiece, and the long list of the officers of the British forces in America who subscribed for it, but infamous for the note on page 190 which is scissored out of all but one known copy, and is here for the first time reprinted. The title of the book, which was published by subscription, was "Military Collections and Remarks." The author, according to the prospectus, was "a late General Officer of distinguished abilities," and the editor was Robert Donkin, then a major in the British army, sometime

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MILITARY

COLLECTIONS

AND

REMARKS.

La fortune dispose des victoires; mais un jugement mûr, une prudence sage, et l'experience, savent seuls apprendre & usage qu'il faut en faire.

TORTENSON.

PUBLISHED BY
MAJOR DONKIN.

NEW-YORK:

Printed by H. GAINE, at the Bible and Crown, in HANOVER-SQUARE,
M,DCC,LXX,VII.

Type-page of original title is 6⅛ inches by 3 inches.

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commandant of the Garrison Battalion in New York City, and finally full general in His Britannic Majesty's service. The note, which Donkin appended to a chapter on bows and arrows, reads thus:

"Dip arrows in matter of small pox, and twang them at the American rebels, in order to inoculate them; This would sooner disband these stubborn, ignorant, enthusiastic savages, than any other compulsive measures. Such is their dread and fear of that disorder!"

In 1778 he printed in the "Gazette," and as a pamphlet, a "Narrative or Journal of Capt. John Ferdinand Dalziel Smith, of the Queen's Rangers, taken Prisoner by the Rebels in 1775." This was one of the two or three contemporaneously published accounts of the treatment of loyalist prisoners by the Continental authorities, which, with the letters of Colonel, afterward

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General, Sir Archibald Campbell describing his treatment by the government of Massachusetts, give grounds to assert that the subsequent horrors of the British Prison Ships in New York Bay and the brutality of Cunningham had their forerunners among the "Patriots of '76." The author, by the way, as J. F. D. Smyth, afterward published a couple of volumes of his travels in the United States, and later on claimed to be the representative of the Stuarts, in support of which he published in London, in 1808, under the name of Ferdinand Smyth Stuart, what he called "an historical poem," entitled "Destiny and Fortitude," illustrated with nicely engraved portraits of Mary, Queen of Scots, and himself.

Gaine printed Galloway's "Letters of Papinian" in 1779; a poem on the burning of New York in September, 1776, in 1780; the "Charter of the Marine So-

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ciety," on paper in part made from wood, in 1781; "Rules to be observed by the Hand-in-Hand Fire Company," on the only known copy of which a former owner has written, "preserved merely to shew that there is a Fire Company without Fire Buckets." After the Revolution and the suspension of the "Gazette" Gaine was more of a bookseller than a printer, but he issued a number of works which are worthy of mention. In 1784 he printed the last of the folio edition of the "Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Constitutions, Ordained and Established by the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of New York," and in 1789 Jones and Varick's edition of the "Laws of the State of New-York." The copy of this work which was specially bound and presented to General Washington, was sold at auction in Philadelphia in November, 1876, with other volumes from Washington's

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library. It is in two volumes, and is a remarkable specimen of American bookbinding of its day, but it sold for no more than $9 a volume. Its purchaser found in one of the volumes a survey of Mount Vernon drawn in Washington's own hand. Taking this out, he sold the volumes for $30 apiece to Mr. C. W. Frederickson, at whose sale they were bought by Dr. George H. Moore for $104 a volume. Dr. Moore disposed of them to the writer at the comfortable advance of $750 for the two, and they now repose in the Tower Collection of American Colonial Laws in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Gaine printed a duodecimo edition of the Bible in 1792, a duodecimo edition of the Book of Common Prayer in 1793, and a folio edition of the same in 1795. In 1790 he published the first New York edition of the New Testament.

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To the half-dozen almanacs—Hutchins's and Moore's, pocket and sheet, English and Dutch—which he issued for many years, Gaine added in 1774 another in his "Universal Register," which in its subsequent issues became of the greatest historical value by the addition to its regular lists of the civil officers of government in America of a list of the officers of the British army serving here during the Revolution, embracing not only those of the line, artillery, and engineers of the regular army, but of the German mercenaries and loyalist regiments embodied during the war. In another field—books for the amusing instruction of children—Gaine was a pioneer. Instead of the New England or the duller New York Primer he from time to time offered a variety of educational works couched in terms meant to be attractive to juvenile minds. Concerning the inevitable and innumerable

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editions of Watts's Psalms and Hymns I have not gone into details, but he did his share in adding to their number, and no doubt reaped his proportion of profit thereby.

In the half century of his active business career Gaine acquired a handsome fortune, and at the same time, by the rectitude of his conduct, won the respect of his fellow-citizens. The former he lost toward the close of his life through an unfortunate partnership in a lottery scheme, but the latter he retained unimpaired until his death. He was twice married: first in 1759 to Sarah Robins, by whom he had an only son, John R., who died in 1787 at the age of twenty-six, and two daughters. His second marriage, which took place about ten years later, in 1769, was contracted with a widow named Cornelia Wallace, by whom he had several daughters. He has numerous descendants at the present day, one of whom

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owns the original portrait from which our etching is made, and is to-day a successful and enterprising publisher. Gaine took an active part in social and religious matters, if not in politics. He was treasurer and vice-president of the St. Patrick Society, and for many years a vestryman of Trinity Church. He died in New York on April 25, 1807, in the 81st year of his age, and was buried in his vault in Trinity churchyard.

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CHAPTER VI

WHIGS AND TORIES, OR THE HOLTS AND THE ROBERTSONS

JOHN HOLT was born at Williamsburg, in Virginia, in 1721; received a liberal education, became a merchant, and was elected mayor of his native place. Meeting with financial reverses, he procured in 1754, through the influence of his wife's brother, one of the two deputy postmasters-general for America, a situation with James Parker, the newly appointed postmaster of New Haven. Parker not only placed Holt in charge of the post-office, but took him into partnership in a book-

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store and printing-house which he established in New Haven, the firm name being James Parker & Co. Holt, I presume, had learned type-setting in the office of his brother-in-law, Hunter, before he left Williamsburg. His first publication, "Liber Primus Novo-Portu Impressus," according to the title-page, was an edition in Latin of the statutes of Yale College.

On the 1st of January, 1755, he began "The Connecticut Gazette," the first newspaper printed in the colony, and continued its publication until 1760, when he was called to New York to take charge of Parker's printing-office. The business of the New Haven firm of James Parker & Co. was carried on through an agent until 1764, when it was sold to Benjamin Mecom.

In New York, Holt had entire charge of the business, Parker preferring to attend to his printing-office at Woodbridge. He soon acquired an interest

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LAWS,

STATUTES, ORDINANCES AND CONSTITUTIONS,

ORDAINED, MADE AND ESTABLISHED,

BY THE

Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty,

OF THE

CITY of *New-York*,

Convened in Common-Council,

FOR

The good Rule and Government of the Inhabitants and Reſidents of the ſaid City.

PUBLISHED *the Ninth Day of* November, *in the third Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord*, GEORGE *the Third, by the Grace of* GOD, *of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *King, Defender of the Faith, &c.* Annoque Domini 1762. *And in the Mayoralty of* JOHN CRUGER, *Eſq;*

To which is added,

An APPENDIX, *containing Extracts of ſundry Acts of the General Aſſembly, of the Colony of* New-York, *immediately relating to the good Government of the ſaid City and Corporation.*

Printed and Sold, by JOHN HOLT, at the *New Printing Office*, at the lower End of *Broad Street*, oppoſite the *Exchange*, 1763.

Type-page of original title is 10¼ inches by 5⅜ inches.

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in the concern, and for a couple of years its publications bore the imprint of James Parker & Co.

In 1764 both partnerships were dissolved; Holt leased the New York establishment, and began publishing on his own account. He also continued the "New York Gazette"; but of this, although issued in Holt's name, Parker retained the proprietorship. The earliest publication bearing Holt's imprint was "The Laws, [etc.,] of the City of New-York," issued late in 1763. In 1764 he printed the "Report" of the famous New York case of Forsey *vs.* Cunningham, and 1765 reprinted Daniel Dulany's "Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies, For the Purpose of raising a Revenue." In 1766 he printed a small quarto volume of 72 pages, a collection of Jewish prayers translated by Isaac Pinto of New York. In 1766 he quarreled with Parker, and instead

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of issuing the "Gazette" on May 29 he put forth "The New York Journal, No. 1." Before the next weekly issue of the "Gazette" was due, the quarrel was composed and the publication of the "Journal" was discontinued in favor of the "Gazette." The peace lasted only until October, when Holt opened a printing-office of his own and recommenced the "New York Journal," but this time numbering at No. 1241, in sequence with the "Gazette," which he supposed would expire without his attention. Parker, however, was too good a business man to permit this, and the "Gazette" and "Journal" continued to appear as two distinct newspapers numbered from a common starting-point for several years. Holt gave the "Journal" a vigorous Whig tone, and it achieved an immediate success, attained a wide circulation, and attracted contributions from many able writers

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who took the side of American liberty. In 1774 he replaced the cut of the royal arms, which had ornamented his heading, with the rattlesnake, divided into twelve parts, and the motto "Join or Die," which had been occasionally used before from the time it was suggested in the "Pennsylvania Gazette" of May 9, 1754. On the approach of the British army in 1776, Holt removed to Esopus (Kingston), leaving much of his personal property in New York, "which he totally lost." He resumed the "Journal" at Esopus, continued it when he removed to Poughkeepsie, and again printed it in New York City in the fall of 1783, after the British had evacuated. At the last-named place Holt changed the name of the paper to "The Independent Gazette, or the New York Journal." After his death its publication was continued by his widow until 1785, and from that time until 1787 it was

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published by Eleazer Oswald, a relative of Mrs. Holt. Early in the last-mentioned year the paper was sold to Thomas Greenleaf, who continued it, with several changes of name, until 1798.

About 1770 Holt established a printing-office at Norfolk, Virginia. This was under the management of his son, John Hunter Holt, who published a newspaper there, and did such other printing as came in his way. The Norfolk paper became obnoxious to Lord Drummond, and in October, 1775, he despatched an officer and thirteen men from the man-of-war on which he had taken refuge in the previous June to seize the printer and destroy his effects. The latter part of their object was accomplished, and aroused great indignation throughout Virginia. The elder Holt was twice again a sufferer at the hands of the British: once when they burned Esopus, and then when they

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sacked Danbury, to which place he had sent a part of his effects for safety. Holt does not seem to have been very enterprising as a book-publisher. Besides his newspaper he did but little, except in printing pamphlets and broadsides. In 1776 he became "Printer to the State," and as such his time was fully occupied by the printing of the "Laws" and "Journals" and his newspaper and almanacs. He died in New York, January 30, 1784, and was buried in St. Paul's churchyard.

ELIZABETH HOLT, who succeeded her husband as Printer to the State of New York, is perhaps beyond the scope of a work on the colonial printers; but as she may have aided her husband in his business before the Revolution, I have included a brief notice of her. She was born in Wil-

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LAWS

OF THE

STATE

OF

NEW-YORK,

Paſſed at the firſt Meeting of the Seventh Seſſion of the Legiſlature of ſaid State

Beginning the 12th Day of February, 1784, and ending the 12th Day of May following.

NEW-YORK:
Printed by ELIZABETH HOLT, Printer to the State.
M,DCC,LXXXIV.

Type-page of original title is 11⅜ inches by 6¾ inches.

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liamsburg, Virginia, in 1727, and was a daughter of John Hunter, a merchant of that colonial capital. She married Holt in 1749, and after his death continued his business, at first alone, and afterward with the assistance of a relative, Eleazer Oswald. She disposed of her interest in the printing-office and newspaper about 1787, and removed to Philadelphia, where she died on March 6, 1788, in her sixty-first year.

JAMES ROBERTSON was born in Scotland, and learned his trade in his father's printing-office. In 1764, he, in company with several compatriots, went to Boston, where for a time he found employment as a journeyman. In 1768 he removed to New York, and, having been joined by a younger brother, established a printing-house under the name of

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James Robertson & Co. The Robertsons began a newspaper called "The New York Chronicle," and printed a few pamphlets. In 1770, at the instance of Sir William Johnson, they removed to Albany, where, in November of the following year, they began the publication of "The Albany Gazette," which they continued to publish until 1775. Beyond the city ordinances and a few pamphlets, I know of nothing else that they produced while in Albany. In 1773 they formed a partnership with John Trumbull, and opened another office in Norwich, Connecticut. Their first publication seems to have been a newspaper called "The Norwich Packet," which was begun in October, 1773. As at Albany, not much is known of the issues of their Norwich press. An edition of Watts's Psalms and a few pamphlets are all that can be traced. The Robertsons were loyalists, and on the

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entry of the British into New York they disposed of their interest in the Norwich business to Trumbull, and confided the Albany plant to a friend, who caused it to be buried on his farm, from whence it was resurrected about 1782 and sold to Balentine and Webster, who established the second printing-office in Albany. Removing to New York City, the Robertsons began the publication, in January, 1777, of "The Royal American Gazette." This paper was continued in their joint names until James Robertson followed the British army to Philadelphia in February, 1778, and began the publication of "The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette," the last number of which appeared on May 26, 1778. Soon after this he returned to New York and opened a shop in Hanover Square. He soon, however, rejoined his brother in the publication of "The Royal American Gazette," and continued thus

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engaged until the early part of 1780, when, with Macdonald and Cameron, he removed to Charleston, South Carolina, where they established, "by authority," "The Royal South Carolina Gazette." This paper lasted during the British occupation of Charleston, on the termination of which Robertson rejoined his brother in New York. "The Royal American Gazette" was issued by them until near the time of the evacuation of New York by the British; after 1781 it for a while bore the imprint of Robertsons, Mills and Hicks, but how long this firm lasted I have not ascertained. James Robertson returned to Scotland and became a bookseller in Edinburgh, where he was living in 1810. His wife, Amy, died at Norwich, June 15, 1776, just before he left there for New York.

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A

REVIEW

OF THE

MILITARY OPERATIONS

IN

NORTH-AMERICA

FROM

The Commencement of the FRENCH HOSTILITIES on the Frontiers of *Virginia*, in 1753, to the Surrender of *Oſwego*, on the 14th of Auguſt, 1756.

INTERSPERSED,

With various Obſervations, Characters, and Anecdotes, neceſſary to give Light into the Conduct of American Tranſactions in general, and more eſpecially into the political Management of Affairs in NEW-YORK.

In a LETTER to a Nobleman.

NEW-YORK:

Printed by ALEXANDER and JAMES ROBERTSON, MDCCLXX

Type-page of original title is 6½ inches by 4 inches.

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ALEXANDER ROBERTSON was born in 1742 in Scotland, and like his brother learned his trade in his father's printing-office. About 1768 he joined his older brother, already noticed, in New York, and began business with him under the name of James Robertson & Co. Besides the newspaper published by them, the only thing of importance which they printed was the third American edition of William Livingston's "Review of the Military Operations in America from 1753 to 1756," printed in 1770. In company with his brother he engaged in business in Albany, having also a printing-office at Norwich, Connecticut; and on the occupation of New York by the British army, in 1776, removed to that place. There, in connection with his brother, alone, or again with his brother and Mills and Hicks, he published "The Royal American Gazette," January, 1777, un-

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til 1783. On the evacuation of New York by the British, he removed to Nova Scotia, where he began the publication of a newspaper at Shelburne, or, as it was at first called, Port Roseway. He died there in November, 1784, in the forty-second year of his age.

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CHAPTER VII

JAMES RIVINGTON "THE ONLY LONDON BOOKSELLER IN AMERICA"

ON the death of Richard Chiswell in 1711, a London publishing-house established some fifty years before, which had produced in that period, among other books, the fourth folio edition of Shakespeare, passed into the control of Charles Rivington. The new proprietor turned his attention largely to religious publications, and became the founder of a house which earned fame and wealth by following in his footsteps until its very recent dissolution. Charles Rivington had,

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besides, a sound judgment which incited him to urge upon Richardson the writing of a series of "letters, in a common style," which acquired an instant success under the unforgotten title of "Pamela." But he also had a humorous appreciation of the foibles of mankind, of which Curwen relates an amusing instance. A poor vicar of a remote country parish had preached a sermon so acceptable to his congregation that they begged him to have it printed. Full of the honor conferred, and the celebrity to come, the parson started to London to find a publisher. He was recommended to Rivington, who accepted his proposals, but was startled with the preacher's idea that the edition should consist of about thirty-five thousand copies. Rivington remonstrated, but in vain; the author insisted that no less a number would meet the demand, and the matter was settled. The cler-

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gyman returned home and waited. Two months exhausted his patience, and he wrote demanding an account, adding he was in no hurry for a remittance. In response Rivington sent the following bill:

The Rev. Dr. ———

To C. RIVINGTON *Dr.*

	£	*s*	*d*
To Printing and Paper, 35,000 copies of Sermon	785	5	6
By sale of 17 copies of said Sermon	1	5	6
Balance due C. Rivington . . .	£784	0	0

The horror of the poor vicar, which can be readily imagined, was soon relieved by the following letter from the printer:

Rev. Sir,— I beg pardon for innocently amusing myself at your expense, but you need not give yourself any uneasiness. I knew better than you could do the extent of the sale of single sermons, and accordingly printed one hundred copies, to the expense of which you are heartily welcome.

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Charles Rivington died in 1742, and was succeeded in business by his sons John and James.

James Rivington was born in London in 1724, and with his brother continued the business in the channel it had been led into by their father—the publication of works mostly of a religious character until sometime after 1752. On September 14 of that year he married a daughter of Thomas Mynshull of Charlton Hall, Lancashire, and about 1754 he withdrew from St. Paul's Churchyard and began business first with one Millar and then in partnership with James Fletcher "at the Oxford Theatre in Pater-noster Row." His connection with the latter began early in 1756, but their first notable publication did not appear until about May, 1757. It was Smollett's "History of England," in four quarto volumes, and it is said that the author realized £2000, and the publish-

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ers £10,000, by its publication. Rivington & Fletcher issued a number of other very successful works, among which were "Newcomb's Version of Hervey's Contemplations," Mably's "Principles of Negociation," "Enquiries concerning the First Inhabitants of Europe," "Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Surgery at Paris," "The Natural and Civil History of California," and "A Dialogue between General Wolfe and the Marquis Montcalm." The wealth acquired by success in business enabled Rivington to keep a carriage and live in handsome style, while his manners and address were such as to gain for him a footing in the higher classes of English society. He became devoted to the turf and a regular attendant of the races at Newmarket. During the season of 1759 his losses were so heavy that he thought himself ruined, and persuaded one of his creditors in Jan-

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uary, 1760, to have him declared a bankrupt. His assignee was finally enabled to pay twenty shillings on the pound, and hand over a balance to Rivington.

In September, 1760, he opened a book-store in Hanover Square, New York, announcing himself as the "only London Bookseller in America." In January, 1761, he removed to Philadelphia and opened a store there, leaving his New York house in the care of an agent. The arrangement underwent a change in 1762. Samuel Brown, of whom a brief notice will be found on page 58, became his partner, and took charge of the business in New York. Rivington brought out a considerable stock of books from London, of which he issued a catalogue in November, 1760, no copy of which is now known to exist. A copy of "A Catalogue of Books sold by Rivington and Brown at their Stores in New York and Phil-

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adelphia," issued in 1762, has been preserved. It is a small pamphlet of ninety pages, and is divided into two parts, the first of which comprises 783 titles, to many of which are appended long descriptive notes and extracts. Among the books catalogued are "The Rambler"; Smollett's indecent "Ferdinand Fathom" and famous "Peregrine Pickle"; "Chrysal"; "The Spectator"; "The Tatler"; Anson's "Voyages"; Cibber's "Lives of the Poets"; Plutarch's "Lives"; "History of the Devil, written by Daniel Defoe, father of the late Mr. Defoe, Merchant at New York"; Middleton's "Cicero"; the works of Addison, Pope, and Swift; several editions of Shakespeare and Dryden; Bayle's "Dictionary"; a complete edition of Voltaire's works, then appearing monthly, with Smollett's name as translator; Walton's "Complete Angler"; "The American Gazetteer"; many school-books, works on mathe-

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matics, architecture, astronomy, husbandry, etc.; and two or three pages of novels and plays. To Rousseau's "New Héloïse" Rivington gives as a note an extract from the preface filling twelve pages, while from Smollett's "History of England" he quotes the characters given of the elder Pitt and General Wolfe. The last five pages are filled with one-line titles of books which "were the Library of a Gentleman of genteel Taste." This list comprises three hundred and fifty volumes, and is interesting and instructive in showing the extent of colonial reading in the middle provinces. Theology, to which, according to McMaster, the New England library was almost confined, finds but little space. Pufendorf, Locke, Sidney, Machiavelli, Milton, and Johnson's Dictionary appear among the folios; Newton's "Principia," Francis's "Horace," Plutarch, Swift, Pope, Smollett, and Sydenham

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among the octavos; Shakespeare, "The Spectator," "Tom Jones," Molière's plays (in French), and other lighter works, among the duodecimos. There is a sprinkling of Americana too, such as the "Laws of Pennsylvania," printed by Bradford in 1714; Franklin's "Cato Major," and Stith's "Virginia." At the end of the catalogue Rivington offers: "The greatest Variety of elegant Pocket-books with Knives, Scissars [*sic*], Pencils, Cork-screws, &c. &c." "Also an elegant Assortment of Jewelry; consisting of Diamond, Garnet, and Past [*sic*] Ornaments for Ladies and Gentlemen, and of Gold, Pinchbeck and Silver Buckles." "With the very Best Green, and Bohea Teas, Finest Snuffs."

Until the advent of Rivington it was generally possible to tell from an American bookseller's advertisements in the current newspapers whether the work offered for sale was printed in

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America or England. But the books he received in every fresh invoice from London were "Just published by James Rivington," and this form was speedily adopted by the other booksellers, so that after 1761 the advertisements of books are no longer a guide to the issues of the colonial press. Some of the pamphlets announced by Rivington were no doubt printed for him in Philadelphia or New York, but it is difficult to distinguish them. In 1762 he further extended his business by establishing a store in Boston. This was discontinued, however, in 1765, on the death of the person to whom its management was committed. He withdrew from Philadelphia in 1763 or 1764, and returned to New York, and soon afterward dissolved his connection with Brown. After 1765 he confined his business to New York, where he was not successful, and finally became a second time a bank-

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rupt. He soon recovered, and in 1767 was keeping a book-store under the name of J. Rivington & Co. In January, 1769, he was admitted a Freeman of the City of New York, and in March of the same year married his second wife, Elizabeth Van Horne. This lady was an aunt of the Revolutionary belles described so vivaciously in Becky Frank's letter to her sister, Mrs. Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, which is printed in "The Republican Court," except a few sentences. One of these, relating to Cornelia Van Horne, reads: "Her feet as you desire I 'll say nothing about [and then, like a woman, does directly the contrary], they are V. Horn's and what you 'd call Willings."

About 1772 Rivington moved to a shop "facing the Coffee-House bridge," and toward the close of that year added a printing-office to his book-store, where, in 1773, he began the

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publication of a newspaper, to which I shall refer later on. A sermon by the Rev. John Sayre, a volume of church music, a catalogue of books for sale at his store, and a couple of almanacs were the only separate publications of his press during the first year of its existence. But in the following year his business as printer became one of the most active in the country. Besides the two volumes of Cook's "Voyages," with plates engraved by the Boston silversmith of midnight-ride fame—Paul Revere—he issued some forty other publications. These were mostly political pamphlets called forth by the dispute between the colonies and Great Britain. Rivington printed for both sides with great impartiality. Among his publications in 1774 are Hamilton's replies to Seabury, Wilkins, and Cooper, whose pamphlets were also printed on Rivington's press. The latter's

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"American Querist" called forth the following card from the printer:

Last Week the Heads of the Flatbergasted Fraternity, who have lately affected to stile themselves the Public, in solemn Conclave audited the Queries contained in the following Book, and on finding some they could not, and others they would not answer, with a Candour, Justice and Decorum, by which their Proceedings have ever been distinguished, they committed it to the Flames; in immediate Consequence of which the Printer has been called upon by large demands for the *Editio Altera*, of this piece. When you damn the Printer, and burn his Pamphlet, he laughs, reprints, triumphs and fills his Pocket.

In 1775 Rivington issued some twenty-eight political brochures, nearly all on the Tory side. Among them were Sewall's "The Americans Roused, in a Cure for the Spleen," Chandler's "What think ye of the Congress Now?" Barry's "The General, attacked By a Subaltern," and Galloway's "Candid Examination." The last called for "An

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Answer," and to this Galloway wrote "A Reply" which was printed by Rivington in April, but not published until his return to New York in January, 1777, as the following advertisement in Gaine's "New York Gazette" shows:

The above pamphlet was printed by James Rivington about a twelve month ago; but the spirit of persecution and sedition raged so high at that time he dared not publish it. The last sheet had been scarcely struck off, when an armed mob surrounded his house, and forcibly carried off all his types.

Also, Leonard's "Present Political State of Massachusetts" and "Origin of the American Contest," "The Patriots of North-America," and "The Triumph of the Whigs." On the American side he printed several tracts, such as Burke's speeches in Parliament, Arthur Lee's "Appeal to the People of Great Britain," General Charles Lee's "Letters" and "Strictures" on the "Friendly Address," and Hamil-

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ton's "The Farmer Refuted." Besides these controversial publications he also printed a four-volume edition of Chesterfield's "Letters," "A Short State of the Proceedings of the Proprietors of East and West Jersey, Relative to the Line of division between them," and Bernard Romans's "Concise Natural History of East and West Florida." The last-mentioned nugget, like the Wilmington edition of Filson's "Kentucky," is always found without the two large maps promised on the title-page. The maps were engraved by some one who resided far up the Hudson, were printed on paper made at Wilcox's mills near Philadelphia, and their completion was announced on May 4, 1775, in Rivington's newspaper. At present but a single copy of each is known, both of which are in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In the "Gazetteer" of April 13,

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1775, Rivington announced as in the press "The Republican Dissected: Or the Anatomy of an American Whig, in Answer to the Farmer Refuted," which brought the popular feeling against him to a climax. The Whigs of Newport, Rhode Island, had passed resolutions condemning his course on March 1, and similar action was taken at Freehold, New Jersey, a week later. He had during the previous year indulged in an epistolary quarrel with Isaac Sears, the leader of the "Sons of Liberty" in New York, which partook of a very personal character, and in which Rivington made Sears appear both ill-tempered and illiterate, and, of course, ridiculous. Sears now seized the opportunity for revenge, and heading a body of "Sons of Liberty" from Connecticut, attacked Rivington, and destroyed the sheets and manuscript of "The Republican Dissected," and much more of the printer's property. This act

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was disavowed by the leading Whigs, and the New York Provincial Convention several times endeavored to obtain from Connecticut pecuniary compensation for the damages Rivington had sustained. Soon after Sears's raid Rivington was formally arrested, but after being detained some time he "signed the General Association," published a handbill declaring his intention to adhere to it, and asking pardon for his ill-judged publications, and was thereupon "permitted to return to his house and family." While under arrest he addressed the following protest to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia:

Whereas the subscriber, by the freedom of his publications during the present unhappy disputes between Great Britain and her Colonies, has brought upon himself much public displeasure and resentment, in consequence of which his life has been endangered, his property invaded, and a regard to his personal safety re-

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quires him still to be absent from his family and business; and whereas, it has been ordered by the Committee of Correspondence for the city of New York that a report of the state of his case should be made to the Continental Congress, that the manner of his future treatment may be submitted to their direction, he thinks himself happy in having at last for his judges gentlemen of eminent rank and distinction in the Colonies, from whose enlarged and liberal sentiments he flatters himself that he can receive no other than an equitable sentence, unbiased by popular clamor and resentment. He humbly presumes that the very respectable gentlemen of the Congress now sitting at Philadelphia will permit him to declare, and, as a man of honor and veracity, he can and does solemnly declare that however wrong and mistaken he may have been in his opinions, he has always meant honestly and openly to do his duty as a servant of the public. Accordingly his conduct, as a printer, has always been conformable to the ideas which he entertained of English liberty, warranted by the practice of all printers in Great Britain and Ireland for a century past, under every administration; authorized, as he conceives, by the laws of England, and countenanced by the declaration of the late Congress. He declares that his press

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has been always open and free to all parties, and for the truth of this fact appeals to his publications, among which are to be reckoned all the pamphlets, and many of the best pieces that have been written in this and the neighboring Colonies in favor of the American claims. However, having found that the inhabitants of the Colonies were not satisfied with this plan of conduct, a few weeks ago he published in his paper a short apology, in which he assured the public that he would be cautious for the future of giving any further offence. To this declaration he resolves to adhere, and he cannot but hope for the patronage of the public, so long as his conduct shall be found to correspond with it. It is his wish and ambition to be an useful member of society. Although an Englishman by birth, he is an American by choice, and he is desirous of devoting his life, in the business of his profession, to the service of the country he has adopted for his own. He lately employed no less than sixteen workmen, at near one thousand pounds annually; and his consumption of printing paper, the manufacture of Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, and the Massachusetts Bay, has amounted to nearly that sum. His extensive foreign correspondence, his large acquaintance in Europe and America, and the manner of his education, are circumstances which,

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he conceives, have not improperly qualified him for the station in which he wishes to continue, and in which he will exert every endeavor to be useful. He therefore humbly submits his case to the honorable gentlemen now assembled in the Continental Congress, and begs that their determination may be such as will secure him, especially as it is the only thing that can effectually secure him in the safety of his person, the enjoyment of his property, and the uninterrupted prosecution of his business.

May 20, 1775. JAMES RIVINGTON.

Toward the close of 1775 he once more made himself obnoxious to the Revolutionary party, and in November of that year his office was again mobbed and its contents almost entirely destroyed. In January, 1776, Rivington left New York for London, in the ship *Sansom*, in company with a number of other loyalists. After a stay in England of more than a year, he returned to New York with a new outfit and the appointment of "Printer to his Majesty," but printed

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nothing worth mentioning until the following year. Among his publications during 1778 were: "The Adventures of a British Nobleman at Paris, or the art of ruining a man of fashion in fourteen days, said to be written by a Mr. Routledge, who melted his twelve thousand Louis there in the above space, and then returned pensive and chop fallen to recruit in his native country"; Anstey's "Election Ball," a volume of spurious "Letters from General Washington," Charles Lee's "Account of the treatment of Major-General Conway," Pratt's "Pupil of Pleasure," Robertson's "History of America," an "Army List," and some lampoons on the Americans, such as "The Diaboliad," "The Triumph of Folly," and "A full and perfect List of the rebel Council, Assembly, Committees, etc., etc., of the Province of Massachusetts Bay." His business as a pub-

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lisher began to decline in 1779, and with the exception of a reprint of Tickell's "Anticipation" and a collection of "Songs, Naval and Military," compiled by himself, I know of nothing from his press worthy of mention. In regard to the last-mentioned volume the following advertisement was inserted in "The Royal Gazette" of March 10, 1779:

> The printer being employed at the desire of many gentlemen, in compiling a collection of Navy, Military, and Constitutional Songs, and being in want of the following, begs the favour of any Gentlemen, possessed of the words, to oblige him as soon as possible with copies of them: Genius of England, and Sing all ye Muses, by Purcell; Grog is the Liquor of Life, by Harry Greene; The Soldier who Danger and Death doth despise; Hot Stuff, by Colonel Hale, of the 47th.

The collection was published in "a pocket volume" on March 24. It is curious to note that the last-mentioned

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COW-CHACE,

IN THREE CANTOS,

Publiſhed on Occaſion of the

REBEL General WAYNE's

ATTACK OF THE

REFUGEES BLOCK-HOUSE

ON HUDSON's RIVER,

On FRIDAY the 21ſt of JULY, 1780.

NEW-YORK.

PRINTED BY JAMES RIVINGTON,

MDCCLXXX.

Type-page of original title is 5 $\frac{5}{16}$ by 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

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song had appeared in his own paper of May 5, 1774 (with the "clever but indecent" concluding verse which Sargent printed on a separate leaf), and was then ascribed to "Ned" Botwood, a sergeant of Hale's regiment. Could a copy of this collection now be found, we might have a new and enlarged edition of "The Loyalist Poetry of the Revolution."

Rivington's publications during 1780 were few but varied in their character. The report of the trial of André came from his press some six months after the "Cow-Chace," the original manuscript of which is now in the Childs collection at the Drexel Institute; and Bogatzky's "God's Thoughts of War in Peace," and "A Discourse upon Devilism," appeared at about a like interval. André's "Cow-Chace" appeared originally in three numbers of "The Royal Gazette," the last canto on the very day of his cap-

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Paris Papers;

OR

Mr. SILAS DEANE's late intercepted

LETTERS,

TO

His BROTHERS, and other intimate FRIENDS, in

AMERICA.

To which are annexed for Compariſon, the Congreſſional Declaration of Independency in July 1776, and that now inculating among the revolted Provinces, with the *never-to-be-forgotten* Orders of the Rebel General *in Auguſt* 1776, *for preventing a Pacification.*

NEW-YORK:

RE-PRINTED BY JAMES RIVINGTON.

Size of original.

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ture, a singular verification of its prophetic epilogue:

> And now I 've clos'd my epic strain,
> I tremble as I show it,
> Lest this same warrior-drover Wayne
> Should ever catch the poet.

In 1781 he issued "The Candid Retrospect, or the American War, examined by Whig Principles," Raynal's "Revolution in America," "The New Duty of Man," and Miss Seward's "Monody on André"; and in 1782, "The Amusing Practice of the Italian Language" and the "Paris Papers, or Mr. Silas Deane's late intercepted Letters," the latter in a small volume now of great rarity. In 1783 he published the last of the British "Army Lists" printed in America, and reprinted "Advice to the Officers of the British Army," and one or two other pamphlets. After the royal forces withdrew from New York, Rivington

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was allowed to remain, and continued business until near the beginning of the present century, when he again failed and retired finally from active life, and resided with his son James, a half-pay officer of the British army. He published a few books after the war, such as "The Democrat or Intrigues and Adventures of Jean Le Noir from his Enlistment as a Drummer in General Rochambeau's Army and Arrival at Boston," and a book of "Fairy Tales" with nine copperplates engraved by Alexander Anderson, but confined himself mainly to selling books and stationery. Dr. Francis, in his "Old New York," gives us a glimpse of "Rivington in rich purple velvet coat, full wig and cane, and ample frills, dealing good stationery to his customers." Rivington has been charged with being a traitor to the royal cause when it became the losing side, by furnishing Washington

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with information as to the movements of the British; but the tale as told by Lossing is loaded with such marvelous details as to the way in which his communications were made as to cast discredit on the main assertion. He certainly retained to the end the respect of Carleton, the last British commander-in-chief in New York, who, when peace was a practical necessity for England, presented his sons John and James with commissions in the British army, which enabled them to enjoy half pay from 1783 until their deaths, without having seen any active service. Rivington died in New York City (one of whose streets still bears his name), July 3, 1802, and was buried in the yard of the old Dutch church on Nassau street, the site of which is now covered by a modern office-building. At the time of his death he was the senior "Liveryman" of the "Stationers' Company of London."

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CHAPTER VIII

JAMES RIVINGTON AND HIS "LYING GAZETTE"

ONE of the first, if not the very first, of the issues of Rivington's press was "Rivington's New-York Gazetteer; or the Connecticut, New-Jersey, Hudson's-River, And Quebec Weekly Advertiser," all of which wide-spreading title was divided by a poorly executed type-metal cut, labeled "The London Packet." The first number, dated April 22, 1773, followed a well-written four-page prospectus, in which Rivington promised a better journal than any that had previously appeared in the colonies. In point of news he carried

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out his prospectus, and the political articles from his contributors are rivaled only in the earlier numbers of Zenger's "Journal" and Goddard's "Pennsylvania Chronicle." With his eighteenth number Rivington improved the "cut" and left off the legend. The numerous advertisements and the almost continuous series of "supplements" issued for their accommodation show how successful the "Gazette" was from the start. In October, 1774, Rivington inserted the following announcement in his seventy-eighth number:

The weekly impression of this Gazetteer is lately increased to Three Thousand Six Hundred, a number far beyond the most sanguine expectations of the Printer's warmest friends; as the presses of very few, if any, of his brethren, including those of Great Britain, exceed it. This paper is constantly distributed thro' every colony of North America, most of the English, French, Spanish, Dutch and Danish West India islands, the principal cities and towns of Great

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Britain, France, Ireland, and in the Mediterranean. Such an extensive circulation fully evinces the great advantages found by every one that sends advertisements to be published in it. And whilst the Printer continues to do ample justice to all opinions in the unhappy dispute with the mother country, he doubts not of being honoured with the unremitted approbation and patronage of all those whom it is his highest ambition to please. The subscribers acquired by him since the 9th of June last, amount to upwards of five hundred, after allowing for every one who by death or other causes, has diminished the number.

With number fifty-five he began to add to the heading the statement that the paper was "Printed at his ever open and uninfluenced Press," and it was conducted with great impartiality as well as ability until toward the close of 1774, when it became decidedly Tory in its tone. In November of that year, when most American editors were withdrawing the royal arms from the

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headings, Rivington inserted them in place of his cut of the ship. Perhaps the following "Extract of a Letter from London to a Gentleman in this city" may explain the change in Rivington's line of conduct. It was issued as a handbill in New York on July 25, 1774, and read:

> It is the Purpose of Lord North to offer one of your Printers Five Hundred Pounds, as an Inducement to undertake and promote Ministerial Measures.

Perhaps native prejudice and a confidence in the certain success of the British regulars over the provincials influenced him. The material at hand does not justify me in venturing an opinion. The result, however, was that the paper became more feared and hated by the Whigs than any of its Tory contemporaries. Rivington's office was twice mobbed, and on the second occasion he was deprived of

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the means of continuing his paper by the destruction of his presses and the conversion of his type into bullets for American use. I have already said something of all this, as well as of his going to England and of his return to New York. On October 4, 1777, the "Gazetteer" resumed its weekly appearance, but a couple of weeks later the name was changed to "Rivington's New York Loyal Gazette." Another change was made in December, when the paper became "The Royal Gazette," under which title it continued to appear — twice a week after April, 1778 — until the end of the war. Its unsparing attacks upon "the rebels" aroused an animosity which found vent in Freneau's poetry,[1] Witherspoon's prose, and the popular nicknaming of the paper "Rivington's Lying Gazette." Of the opprobrious

[1] One of Freneau's attacks was on the occasion of the introduction of a new cut of the

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epithet it was no more deserving than was Gaine's paper; the tales of British prowess and loyalist sufferings which appeared in the latter are not a whit less fabulous nor a paragraph

royal arms in the heading of the "Gazette." It runs, in part:

"From the regions of night, with his head in a sack,
Ascended a person accoutred in black,
And leaning his elbow on Rivington's shelf
While the printer was busy, thus mus'd with himself —
'My mandates are fully complied with at last;
New arms are engraved, and new letters are cast;
I therefore determine, and freely accord,
This servant of mine shall receive his reward.'
Then turning about to the printer he said,
'Who late was my servant shall now be my aid;
Since under my banners so bravely you fight,
Kneel down! For your merits I dub you a knight;
From a passive subaltern I bid you to rise —
The INVENTOR, as well as the PRINTER of Lies.'"

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less numerous than those printed by Rivington. It is quite likely that Rivington told the truth so often and so plainly (in which form it is frequently more unpalatable than falsehood) that the Whigs called him a liar whether he was or not. To this kind of abuse, however, he was impervious, and when threatened with personal violence he more than once showed great tact in escaping. An instance of this, told by Curwen, although frequently reprinted, cannot be omitted here. It is given as told in Rivington's own words:

I was sitting down, after a good dinner, with a bottle of Madeira before me, when I heard an unusual noise in the street, and a huzza from the boys. I was on the second story, and, stepping to the window, saw a tall figure in tarnished regimentals, with a large cocked hat and an enormously long sword, followed by a crowd of boys, who occasionally cheered him with huzzas, of which he seemed quite unaware. He came up to my door and stopped. I could see

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no more — My heart told me it was Ethan Allen. I shut my window, and retired behind my table and my bottle. I was certain the hour of reckoning had come — there was no retreat. Mr. Staples, my clerk, came in, paler than ever, clasping his hands — "Master, he has come!" "I know it." I made up my mind, looked at the Madeira, possibly took a glass. "Show him up, and if such Madeira cannot mollify him, he must be harder than adamant." There was a fearful moment of suspense; I heard him on the stairs, his long sword clanking at every step. In he stalked. "Is your name James Rivington?" "It is, sir, and no man can be more delighted to see Colonel Ethan Allen." "Sir, I have come ——" "Not another word, my dear Colonel, until you have taken a seat and a glass of old Madeira." "But, sir, I don't think it proper ——" "Not another word, Colonel, but taste this wine; I have had it in glass ten years." He took the glass, swallowed the wine, smacked his lips, and shook his head approvingly. "Sir, I come ——" "Not another word until you have taken another glass, and then, my dear Colonel, we will talk of old officers, and I have some queer events to detail." In short, we finished three bottles of Madeira, and parted as good friends as if we never had cause to be otherwise.

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After the evacuation of New York by the British, Rivington dropped the cut of the arms which he had introduced into his heading in 1777, and November 22, 1783, altered the name of the paper to "Rivington's New-York Gazette, and Universal Advertiser." In this form he endeavored to continue its publication, but it failed to meet with support, and its last number appeared on December 31, 1783.

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A N

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

NATURE, CAUSE and CURE,

OF THE

ANGINA SUFFOCATIVA,

OR,

SORE THROAT DISTEMPER,

As it is commonly called by the Inhabitants of this City and Colony.

By SAMUEL BARD, M. D.
And Professor of Medicine in King's College,
NEW-YORK.

Is recte curaturus quem prima origo causæ non fefellerit. CELSUS.

NEW-YORK:
Printed by S Inslee, and A. Car, at the New Printing-Office in Beaver-Street

M,DCC,LXXI

Type-page of original title is 6⅜ inches by 3 4/16 inches.

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CHAPTER IX

A GROUP OF SMALL FRY PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION: INSLEE & CAR, HODGE & SHOBER, JOHN ANDERSON, AND SAMUEL LOUDON

SAMUEL INSLEE was a journeyman in James Parker's New York office at the time of the latter's death, and as Parker's son was disinclined to give his personal attention to the business, Inslee found a partner in Anthony Car and leased the office. They continued "The New York Gazette" and printed a few pamphlets, only one of which I have seen, namely, "An Enquiry into the Nature, Cause and Cure of the Angina Suffocativa,"

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or diphtheria, by Dr. Samuel Bard, issued in 1771. They met with little success and retired from business about April, 1773. Inslee was afterward employed as a journeyman by Isaac Collins, in whose office he died suddenly about October, 1778, while at work. Of Car I have been unable to obtain any particulars.

FREDERICK SHOBER, according to Thomas, was a native of Germany, but learned his trade as an apprentice to Anthony Armbruster in Philadelphia. After working two or three years as a journeyman, he began business in partnership with Robert Hodge. They selected Baltimore as their first location, but in less than a year removed to New York. This was toward the end of 1772, but the earliest of their publications I have seen is dated in the following year.

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THE

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS

MISCELLANY;

OR,

SIXTY-ONE

APHORETICAL ESSAYS,

ON SOME OF THE

MOST IMPORTANT

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES AND VIRTUES.

BY HUGH KNOX, D. D.

IN ST. CROIX.

——— hæc ego mecum
Compressis agito labris, ubi quid datur oti
Illudo chartis. Hor.

Quicquid præcipies, esto brevis, ut cito dicta
Percipiant animi dociles, teneantque fideles. Hor. Ars Poet.

Scribentem juvat ipse favor, minuitque laborem,
Cumque suo crescens pectore fervet opus. Ovid.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED BY HODGE AND SHOBER.

M. DCC. LXXV.

Type-page of original title is 6½ inches by 3⅝ inches.

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Their printing-office was first in Queen street and then in Maiden Lane. They printed largely for booksellers, printing in 1773 Toplady's "Predestination" and "The Religious Trader or advice for the Trader's prudent and pious Conduct from his Entrance into Business to His Leaving it off," for Samuel Loudon, and a number of pamphlets for Ebenezer Hazard and Garret Noel, then the most considerable booksellers in New York who had no presses of their own. They published on their own account a number of pamphlets, among which were Garrick's "Irish Widow," Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer," and Benjamin Brush's "Address to the Inhabitants of America upon Slave Keeping." In 1774 they printed for John McGibbons, a bookseller who had removed from Philadelphia to New York, the second volume of the first American edition of Josephus.

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The first volume had been printed by the Bradfords in Philadelphia; the third and fourth volumes appeared in 1775, the last of them with the imprint of Shober & Loudon. The three volumes average five hundred pages each, and in that respect, as a bookseller's venture, have no peers among the colonial books of New York.

In the early part of 1775 Shober bought out Hodge's interest in the business, but at once sold it to Samuel Loudon. This firm was dissolved during the same year, by Loudon's purchase of his partner's share in the business. Shober then retired to a farm near Shrewsbury, New Jersey, in the cultivation of which he spent the remainder of his life. He died there about 1806.

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ROBERT HODGE was born in Scotland in 1746, and learned his trade as a printer in Edinburgh. At the expiration of his apprenticeship he went to London, and after working there two years as a journeyman, came, in 1770, to Philadelphia, where he found employment in the printing-office of John Dunlap. Two years later he formed a partnership with Frederick Shober. They established themselves in Baltimore, "where they intended to have published a newspaper," but not meeting with sufficient encouragement, toward the close of the same year they removed to New York. The partnership was dissolved early in 1775, Hodge selling his interest in the business to Shober, and engaging in bookselling. On the approach of the British, Hodge fled to the country, abandoning a large part of his stock, which was subsequently destroyed by the invaders. After re-

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siding in New York State for a year or two he went to Boston, "and there, in connection with others, opened a printing-house." After the war he returned to New York and resumed business as a bookseller. About 1788 he, with Samuel Campbell and Thomas Allen, added a printing-office to the book-store. Each of the members of the firm maintained a separate place of business in his individual name; their publications being advertised as "for sale at their several book-stores." Among the books issued by them was "The New York Directory for 1789," the third attempt at such a publication. It was a small duodecimo of one hundred and forty-four pages, a part of which was devoted to statistical matter. Allen withdrew from the firm before 1792, when Hodge & Campbell issued an edition of the Bible. About this time the building used by the firm, which

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was also Hodge's dwelling, was destroyed by fire, entailing heavy loss. Soon afterward Hodge & Campbell separated. The former continued the business of a bookseller for several years, but about 1800 disposed of his stock and purchased an estate in Brooklyn, where he resided until about 1810, when he returned to New York City, living at No. 3 Beaver street until his death. He died on the 23d of August, 1813, leaving a considerable property to charity, to a sister, and to numerous nephews and nieces.

JOHN ANDERSON, a native of Scotland, came to New York about 1770 and found employment in James Parker's office. In August, 1772, he married, in New York, Sarah, daughter of Joseph Lockwood, of Fairfield, Connecticut. In June, 1773, he formed a partnership with Samuel F. Parker,

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JOHN ANDERSON

After a drawing by Alexander Anderson.

Dodd, Mead and Company, New York.

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A VOYAGE TO BOSTON.

A POEM.

In peace there's nothing ſo becomes a man,
As modeſt ſtillneſs and humility;
But when the bloſt of war blows in your ears,
Then imitate the action of the Tiger,
Stiffen the ſinews, ſummon up the blood.

Shakeſpeare.

By the Author of *American Liberty*, a Poem: General *Gage's Soliloquy*, &c.

NEW-YORK: Printed by *John Anderſon*, at Beekman's Slip.

Type-page of original title is 6½ inches by 3⅝ inches.

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and they attempted, unsuccessfully, to revive "The New York Gazette." In 1775 he established an office of his own near Beekman's Slip, where he printed a few pamphlets, among which was Freneau's Hudibrastic "Voyage to Boston," and also reprinted an English periodical, then very popular in America, called "The Crisis," the forerunner of Tom Paine's spasmodic but effective publication of nearly the same name. He also began in August, 1775, a newspaper called "The Constitutional Gazette," of which it was said that the line at the top giving the name of the printer and the price of the paper were the only words of truth in it. Anderson had warmly espoused the side of the Whigs in the controversy with the parent country, and on the approach of the British in the autumn of 1776 packed up his effects and started to leave New York. On reaching the American lines, however, his

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wagons were seized for military purposes, his press and furniture ruthlessly thrown out in the road, and his books and papers used for making cartridges. He finally reached Greenwich, in Connecticut, where his wife had relatives who sheltered the ruined printer. He found employment during the war as "captain of a sort of scouts on the Neutral Ground," and when peace was declared returned to New York City. Here he was at first a printer, and latterly an auctioneer, but never a successful man. He died during an epidemic of yellow fever in September, 1798. One of his sons, Alexander Anderson, was the founder in America of that art in which we have no rival — engraving on wood.

SAMUEL LOUDON was born in Scotland in 1727. He established himself in New York as a ship-chan-

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dler about 1760, but about 1772 became a bookseller. In 1775 he bought the interest in the business of Hodge & Shober which the latter had then just purchased from his partner, and the firm of Shober & Loudon had a brief existence. Before the end of the same year Loudon bought out Shober and became sole proprietor of the establishment. In January, 1776, he began "The New York Packet," which he conducted on Whig principles. Loudon, though a zealous Presbyterian and warm republican, undertook to print a pamphlet in answer to "Common Sense," and accordingly advertised its speedy appearance in all the papers. The Whigs became alarmed and "a meeting was summoned, the parties met, and after swallowing [at the house of Jasper Drake, a tavern-keeper upon the dock, and father-in-law to Isaac Sears before mentioned] a sufficient quantity of Rumbo, about

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twelve at night they sallied forth, headed by Alexander McDougal, John Morin Scott, Isaac Sears, John Lamb, Peter R. Livingston, the brother-in-law, and John Smith and Joshua Hett Smith, full brothers, of William Smith, and a few other warm, inveterate republicans, attacked the house of the printer, broke open the doors, pulled him out of his bed, and forcibly seized upon and destroyed the whole impression with the original manuscript."

On the approach of the British in the fall of 1776, he removed to Fishkill and continued the publication of his newspaper there until the close of the war enabled him to return safely to New York City. "The Packet" was published until 1792 or later. In February, 1792, he began "The Diary or Loudon's Register," a daily paper which had not a very long existence.

In 1776 Loudon printed in folio an edition of "The Charter of the City of

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THE

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

STATE

OF

NEW-YORK.

FISH-KILL:

PRINTED by SAMUEL LOUDON.

M.DCC.LXXVII.

Type-page of original title is 5¾ inches by 3⅛ inches.

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New York," and in the following year became for a short time State printer, and during this period printed the first edition of "The Constitution of the State of New-York," Fishkill, 1777. In 1783 he printed the notorious Newburg Letters in a pamphlet called "A Collection of Papers relating to Half Pay to the Officers of the Army," which were several times reprinted. In 1784 he published Alexander Hamilton's "Letters from Phocion," and a report of the famous case of "Rutgers *vs.* Waddington." Among his later publications were the "Laws of the City of New York," and another edition of the "City Charter" granted by Governor Montgomerie, both of which appeared in 1786. In 1787 he took his son John Loudon into partnership, and about 1792 retired from business. He died at Middletown Point, New Jersey, February 24, 1813. He was an active member of the St. Andrew

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Society from 1785, when he joined it, and also for many years an elder of the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Cedar street.

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CHAPTER X

THE LOYALIST PRINTERS OF THE REVOLUTION: MACDONALD & CAMERON, MILLS & HICKS, WILLIAM LEWIS, MORTON & HORNER, AND CHRISTOPHER SOWER, 3D.

ALEXANDER CAMERON, a Scotchman, came to New York in 1777 in company with his partner Macdonald. From the character of their publications and their following the movements of the royal army, I infer that they were sent to America by the British Government as semi-official printers to the army. In New York they published "A List of the General and Staff Officers and of the

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[*By Permiſſion.*]

A

L I S T

OF THE

General and Staff Officers

AND OF THE

OFFICERS in the ſeveral REGIMENTS ſerving in NORTH-AMERICA,

Under the Command of His Excellency General

SIR WILLIAM HOWE, K. B.

With the DATES of their COMMISSIONS as they Rank in each CORPS and in the ARMY.

NEW-YORK:

Printed by MACDONALD & CAMERON in Water-Street, between the Coffee-Houſe and Old Slip-Bridge. 1777.

Type-page of original title is $6\frac{3}{16}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

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Officers in the several Regiments serving in North-America," and a number of proclamations and military notices. In February, 1778, they moved to Philadelphia, where they printed an "Army List" for 1778, and more proclamations and notices. They returned to New York in June, 1778, and in 1779 issued a third "Army List." In the following year they followed the British to Charleston, South Carolina, where, besides printing the yearly "Army List" and the necessary official broadsides, they, in conjunction with James Robertson, printed "The Royal South Carolina Gazette." On the evacuation of Charleston they returned to New York, but did not, so far as I can learn, resume business. Cameron was in New York in October, 1782, beyond which date I am unable to trace him.

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DONALD MACDONALD, like his partner Alexander Cameron, already noticed, was a Scotchman, and came to New York in 1777. The office of the firm was "in Water-Street, between the Coffee-House and Old Slip-Bridge." While in Philadelphia they were located on "Chestnut street, a few doors above the Barrack-Office." In Charleston they had "their Printing-Office, [at] No. 20, Broad Street," and there sold "Hyson Tea, Jewelry, Perfumery, Genuine Scotch Snuff, etc.," in addition to books. I have noticed the publications of this firm, on which their name always appears as "Macdonald & Cameron," in my sketch of the junior partner, but I may add here, in support of my theory of their official connection with the army, that the publications are almost all "By Permission," or "By Authority." Macdonald, who died at Newton, on Long Island, October 5, 1782, "was

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a gentleman of inoffensive manners and had a native goodness of heart."

NATHANIEL MILLS was born November 3, 1749, at Dorchester, Massachusetts, and was apprenticed to John Fleming, a Boston printer. At the expiration of his time of service, Mills, in partnership with John Hicks, bought out his former master, who was desirous of returning to Great Britain. Mills & Hicks began business in Boston in April, 1773. They also acquired control of "The Massachusetts Gazette," and continued it in the interest of the government party. This paper, according to Thomas, was terminated in April, 1775. The same writer is authority for the statement that besides their newspaper they printed "only a few political pamphlets and the 'Massachusetts Register.'" Mills resided a

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MILLS AND HICKS's

BRITISH AND AMERICAN REGISTER,

WITH AN

ALMANACK

For the Year 1781;

Being the first after Bissextile or Leap Year.

Calculated for the Meridian of

NEW-YORK.

NEW-YORK:
Printed by MILLS and HICKS, and sold at their Office in Queen-street; and by BERRY and ROGERS, in Hanover-Square.

Type-page of original title is 4¼ inches by 2½ inches.

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short time at Cambridge, but rejoined his partner in Boston before its evacuation by the British. They accompanied the British army to Halifax, and from thence went to England, where they remained about two years. In 1777 they came to New York and opened a printing-office in connection with a stationery store. They published there the "British and American Register" and "Army List in 1778," and a few other pamphlets. In 1782 they joined the Robertsons, the firm being Robertsons, Mills & Hicks. In 1783 Mills went to Nova Scotia, settling first at Halifax and then at Shelburne.

JOHN HICKS was born October 16, 1750, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. His father, John Hicks, was a great-grandson of Zachariah Hicks, who settled in Cambridge prior to

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1652. The elder John Hicks was an ardent Whig, and lost his life by a British bullet as the royal forces on their retreat from Lexington passed through Cambridge on April 19, 1775. The younger Hicks served his apprenticeship with Green & Russell in Boston, and until 1773 was supposed to be on the side of American liberty. "He was reputed to have been one of the young men who had the affray with some British soldiers which led to the memorable massacre in King street, Boston, on March 5, 1770." In April, 1773, he began business in partnership with Nathaniel Mills, and adopted the side of the government in the political dispute of the time. The death of his father made no change in Hicks's politics, and on the evacuation of Boston he accompanied the British forces to Halifax. Soon afterward both Mills and Hicks went to England, where they remained nearly

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two years. In 1777 they returned to America and established a printing-office and a stationery store in New York City. Their publications were not numerous. I have mentioned some of them in the sketch of Mills, and need only say here that the later issues of their "Register" are of great historical value on account of the "Army Lists" which they contain. Nearly all the army rosters printed in America contain lists of the loyalist corps and German mercenaries employed by the British, which were never included in the official "Army Lists" printed in Great Britain, and are therefore sources of information not to be obtained elsewhere. Sometime in 1782 they joined in business with the Robertsons, with whom they appear as joint publishers of "The Royal American Gazette." After the peace in 1783 they retired again to Halifax and began business there. They

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separated after a short time, and Hicks obtained permission to return to Massachusetts. He purchased a fine estate at Newton and resided there until 1794, when he died.

WILLIAM LEWIS was a native of Kent, England. He came to New York, I think, but a short time before he opened his printing-office at 19 Wall street, and there began "The New York Mercury." The first number was issued September 3, 1779, and was "published at Mr. Philip Brooks's Stationery Store in the same House." Lewis soon acquired the store and carried on the stationery business himself, adding to it a trade in snuff, patent medicines, and popular nostrums, cosmetics and perfumery, gold and silver epaulets, and military trimmings. The paper was well printed and contained as much news as any

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other then issued in New York, but it met with poor success, more than half the advertisements in the numbers I have seen being of books and other goods for sale by James and Alexander Robertson. It was continued up to August, 1781, and probably longer. Lewis printed a few pamphlets and school-books besides his newspaper. In 1782 he was in partnership with Horner. The only publication of this firm that I can discover was a "Freemason's Pocket Book, a curious collection of original Masonic Songs." Lewis retired from the concern in 1783, and on June 28 of that year was arrested for debt. He was soon afterward released, and joined with John Ryan in settling at St. John, New Brunswick. Here, in December, 1783, they began "The Royal St. John's [*sic*] Gazette and Nova Scotia Intelligencer." This paper was continued under various names until about 1806, but Lewis's

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connection with it ceased in 1785, and I have been unable to obtain further information concerning him.

WILLIAM MORTON, in October, 1776, was chosen second lieutenant of the Middle Ward Company of the New York City Regiment of Militia raised by the British immediately after their capture of the city. About May, 1782, he, in partnership with Christopher Sower and Samuel Horner, established a printing-house and started a newspaper called "The New York Morning Post." The editors had to depend largely on Daniel Coxe's supply of foreign newspapers for their news, and in return agreed to send him their paper without charge. Sower withdrew in 1783, and soon afterward quarreled with his former associates about his share of the profits. Morton and Horner had con-

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tinued the business, but were unable to meet Sower's demands, and upon their being unable to pay a note which Morton had given Sower and he had negotiated, Morton was committed to prison and remained there some time. While in jail Morton published a statement in "The Morning Post" attacking Sower, who replied, first briefly, and then to the extent of two columns, in Rivington's "Royal Gazette." On the death of Horner, Morton continued the newspaper and printing-office alone. Of the former I have seen no number later than 1788, and his name disappeared from the City Directory after 1789. It is possible that he died about that time, although there is no will of his, nor any letters of administration on record at the surrogate's office. He married in New York City, in August, 1782, Mary Love; but I have been unable to ascertain anything more about him,

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nor can I record any publication bearing his imprint other than "The Morning Post" and the pamphlet mentioned in the notice of Sower.

SAMUEL HORNER, the eldest child of Isaac Horner and Rachel Carter, his wife, was born December 31, 1757, in New York City. I have been able to learn nothing about him from this time until May, 1782, when he was in partnership with William Lewis. This firm existed but a short time, as about the same year Horner joined Sower and Morton in opening a printing-office and establishing "The New York Morning Post." Sower retired in 1783 and became engaged in a quarrel with his former partners about his share of the profits, which was extensively aired in the columns of "The Morning Post" and of Rivington's "Royal Gazette." Morton and Horner

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made their peace in some way with the Whig authorities, and continued the publication of their paper after the evacuation of New York by the British. "The Morning Post" is remarkable as the only newspaper printed within the British lines which survived their withdrawal from the United States. The paper was converted into a daily shortly before Horner's death, which occurred in New York City in February, 1786. By his will he bequeathed his interest in the printing-office and newspaper to his partner Morton.

CHRISTOPHER SAUR, or Sower, the third of that name, was born January 27, 1754, at Germantown, Philadelphia County, where his grandfather, in 1738, had printed from the first German type used in America, and in 1743 had issued, the first edition

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of the Bible printed in a European language in the Western world. He was brought up in the office of his father, Christopher Sower, Junior, of which he and his brother Peter became proprietors in 1777. Except his continuation of the "Germantown Gazette," and "Der Hoch-Deutsche Americanische Calender," the disturbed state of the times rendered his press barren. In both these publications he espoused the British side of the great question of the day. On the capture of Philadelphia by Howe, he sought the protection of the royal army. Venturing back to his house in Germantown to secure some valuable papers, he was made a prisoner. He was exchanged, after a short detention, for his next door neighbor, whose services as a powder-maker were greatly valued by the Americans, and whose arrest by the British, Thomas says, was instigated by Sower. Sower accompanied the

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English to New York, and from thence went to England. Before leaving New York he wrote, in December, 1779, a letter which, with a number of others, was captured by the Americans. In the same packet was another letter touching the same topic as part of Sower's. The following extract from the other letter, which was written by Daniel Coxe, of New Jersey, on December 7, 1779,—

I have lately brought about a general representation of all the refugees from the respective colonies, which now compose a board of which I have the honor to be president. We vote by colonies and conduct our debates in quite a parliamentary style,—

becomes an amusing illustration of the old saw that there are two sides to everything, when considered with Sower's letter, which says:

The deputies of the refugees from the different provinces meet once a week. Daniel Coxe,

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A

REPLY

TO

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S

NARRATIVE

WHEREIN

HIS NUMEROUS ERRORS ARE POINTED OUT.

AND THE CONDUCT OF

LORD CORNWALLIS,

FULLY VINDICATED

FROM

ALL ASPERSION:

INCLUDING THE WHOLE OF THE

PUBLIC AND SECRET CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

LORD GEORGE GERMAIN,

SIR HENRY CLINTON,

AND

HIS LORDSHIP,

AS ALSO

INTERCEPTED LETTERS FROM

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Audi Alteram Partem.——

Non fumum vende, nec fucum facie.

LONDON Printed: NEW-YORK: Re-printed by SOWER, MORTON, and HORNER, No 62, Water-Street, facing Beekman-Slip.
And by Messrs. BERRY and ROGERS, in Hanover-Square.
M,DCC,LXXXIII.

Type-page of original title is 7¼ inches by 5 1/16 inches.

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Esq., was appointed to the chair, to deprive him of the opportunity of speaking, as he has the gift of saying little with many words.

Sower remained in England about two years, and then returned to New York, where, for a short time, he engaged in business with Morton & Horner. The only publication of this firm I have met with besides "The New York Morning Post," the publication of which they began about May, 1782, is a small quarto volume, issued in 1783, a reprint of Cornwallis's "Reply to Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative," from the imprint of which it appears that their office was at "No. 62, Water-Street, facing Beekman-Slip."

In that year Sower again went to England, and remained there until 1784, when, in addition to a pecuniary compensation for the losses entailed by his adherence to the royal cause, he was appointed Deputy Postmaster-General and Printer to the Crown in

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the Province of New Brunswick. Sower settled at a French village which he named "Brookville," and in 1785 began there the publication of "The Royal Gazette and Weekly Advertiser." This paper and the post-office he continued to manage until the spring of 1799, when he visited Philadelphia and Baltimore, and arranged with his brother Samuel for an interest in the latter's type-foundry in the last-named place. He was, however, stricken with apoplexy and died in Baltimore, July 3, 1799, leaving a widow and several children. Thomas's statement that Sower was placed in the English army, as a colonel at half pay, is not borne out by the official "Army List."

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